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The Shape of Things

DESPITE THE ADVENT OF PIERRE LAVAL, full collaboration between Vichy France and the Axis is proving a slow growth. The underground resistance of French patriots is spreading in direct proportion to the intensity of the terror tactics designed to stamp it out. For all his tremendous paper power the Chief of Government can do nothing to quell it. Nor has he felt strong enough to implement his threats against Britain because of its seizure of Madagascar. Still less dare he outrage public opinion by any move toward a rupture with the United States; so that he has to acquiesce in the Martinique negotiations. Unfortunately, the State Department still fails to grasp the basic weakness of Laval's position—the total absence of popular French support for his policy—and so allows the Martinique discussions to drag on instead of insisting on immediate compliance with its demands. Meanwhile Berlin is engaging in a new maneuver which at first sight would appear an attempt to torpedo Laval but could be cunningly designed to build him up. By Hitler's kind permission the Italians have revived their agitation for "Tunis, Corsica, and Nice." Berlin knows quite well that the whole structure of the Vichy regime would collapse if these territories were ceded to Mussolini, for not even the most fascist-minded French officers would stomach such a surrender. But after allowing the agitation to be worked up to impressive proportions Hitler can either call it off in return for a quid pro quo such as the French fleet or simply as a mark of favor to Laval, who could then be hailed as the savior of the French empire. An alternative theory is that the Nazis have realized that collaboration cannot be effected with the aid of any bought French leader, even Laval, and are therefore preparing to occupy the whole country.

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THE WIND OF OPTIMISM WHICH DURING the past few weeks has filled the air waves and press columns with intimations of early victory sprang up as the result of a half-fortuitous combination of events. British raids over German-held Europe have assumed ever greater proportions and destructive force; the successful Russian drive against Kharkov tempted people to minimize the Nazi offensive in the Crimea; stories of

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hunger and political unrest in Italy and Germany created hopes of early Axis collapse; and various official reports, such as the recent army-navy war review, presented a picture of encouraging progress in American preparations. No one of these stories by itself was untrue; together they tended to distort a total picture which is dark, if not desperate. And so it was extremely wise of the President and Secretary Hull to issue warnings against over-optimism and to urge the press to use restraint in dealing with local or day-to-day successes. The loss of Burma and the growing threat to China, the German push toward the Caucasus, the destructive submarine war in our own coastal waters against Allied shipping—these are factors of greater immediate moment than all the omens of victory listed above.

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IT IS NO WONDER THAT THE BRITISH demand for a new front is swelling into a movement of ominous proportions—the sort of movement that drove Chamberlain, against his desire, to threaten war when Hitler moved into Prague; the sort of movement that threw him out of office when Norway fell. Public opinion cannot plan strategy, but it can often create major policy—especially in England. The tremendous demonstrations in London last Sunday, organized partly by the Communists and partly by Beaverbrook's *Daily Express*, amounted to a popular mandate for a European offensive. The bitter fact, stated clearly by Mr. del Vayo on page 618 of this issue, is that Russia's position is extremely perilous and that time is running short. The stories from Berne and Stockholm, and even from Moscow and Kuibyshev, have concealed rather than exposed the fact. Only by ignoring these dispatches, which are inspired by propaganda or a dearth of real news, and concentrating on the terse communiqués of the Soviet command can one get an accurate if partial picture. Russia is in danger of defeat or a disastrous setback within the next three months. Its situation calls for a strategy which subordinates caution and even complete preparation to daring and speed. Indications that the Allied command has been preparing to send an expedition to some point on the Continent have multiplied in recent weeks. But popular pressure behind such a move is of untold value. It tends to silence the timid and put added energy into the efforts of those in charge of operations. For lack of the eager, aggressive spirit shown at the meetings in Trafalgar Square, Malaya and Burma were lost. It may have asserted itself in time to save the Red Army.

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REICH MARSHAL GOERING HAS GIVEN THE most revealing account of the horrors suffered by the German army during the winter campaign in Russia. In a speech obviously intended to key up the home front for more sacrifices he described the hardships borne by the troops—the appalling cold, the breakdown in communications causing scarcity of food and supplies, the constant harassing by the Soviet guerrillas. He hinted that morale had cracked, declaring that only the strength and genius of Hitler had proved equal to the crisis. Then he painted the portrait of a tender-hearted Führer forced to adopt the harshest of measures in order to prevent the line from giving way. Is this an allusion to the suppression of mutinies, to drastic purges among the officers? Göring seems to have made little attempt to console the Germans for their winter losses by promising quick summer victories. On the contrary, he talked in terms of prolonged war and new trials to be endured. He complained that the weather had been very unkind, not only in Russia but at home. Last year's harvest was a poor one, and an exceptionally bad winter—the third in succession—had prevented the germination of crops sown last fall. From other sources it has been learned that there is now a serious shortage of potatoes—the mainstay of the German diet—owing to the freezing during the winter of a large part of the reserve stocks. Every effort is being made to spur the farmers to produce more, but they are handicapped by shortage of labor. Rumors that there are to be further reductions in German meat rations have been encouraged by the granting of a "leave of absence" to Walter Darre, veteran Nazi Minister of Food and Agriculture. These rumors have been officially denied, but there is reason to suppose that Darre has been selected as the scapegoat for the failure of Nazi food policies.

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WITH MEXICO'S ENTRY INTO THE WAR THE United Nations have won an ally whose opposition to fascist aggression, from Ethiopia to Spain, has been admirably consistent. And the United States has won more than an ally, for Mexico, once in the war, no longer offers opportunities to the Axis for fifth-column activities dangerous both to itself and to the United States. The situation had become especially alarming since our own declaration of war. In the measure to which the Camacho government increased its support of the United States and strengthened the defense of the country, Axis agitators in Mexico intensified their activities. They enjoyed the invaluable support of the Sinarquistas and the Spanish Phalanx. The government attempted to counteract their influence by arresting several undesirable aliens, among them Edwald Bork, director of the German Bank and the Nazi party chief for all Mexico. These agents were supposed to leave the country at once, but their departure was several times delayed, and private information from Mexico revealed that every sort of influence was being exerted to prevent their deportation. Business firms on the United States blacklist also continued to do business—both commercial and political. A declaration of war will give the Camacho government

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a free hand in dealing with these Nazi invaders, not to mention the 4,860 Japanese who, according to the latest official Mexican figures, have in recent years established themselves along the coast. No less important are the contributions a country so rich in raw materials, notably in metals, can render to the war effort of the United Nations, and the effect its war declaration will have on other Latin American republics, especially democratic Chile, where Mexico has always exercised a great influence on account of its progressive social policy.

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THE SUBMARINE PERIL ALONG OUR COAST is increasing in magnitude despite the additional measures recently taken by the navy and coast guard to protect shipping. Unfortunately, it is not generally realized in this country how important our own Atlantic front is for the war as a whole. That the enemy considers it of vital importance may be seen from the tremendous efforts he is making to keep up the campaign on this side of the Atlantic. We would not suggest for a moment that the navy is not doing all it can, but the government has not been as vigorous as it might have been in enlisting public support in combating the peril. Much valuable time was lost in enforcing the dimout in New York and along the Southern coast. Not much emphasis has been given to the navy's request that private owners turn over their small boats to aid in the anti-submarine campaign. Walter Lippmann has issued a dramatic and timely appeal to our civilian seamen—yachtsmen, fishermen, and tugboat captains—to fight as guerrillas against the enemy that has invaded our territorial waters. The navy would doubtless oppose the idea of amateurs operating independently against the U-boat menace, but there is much that could be done under the navy's direction. And if unorthodox methods will help, as they helped at Dunkirk, let us by all means use them.

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AS USUAL THE TAX PROGRAM WORKED OUT by the House Ways and Means Committee has proved to be far less satisfactory than that proposed by the Treasury's tax experts. The committee's bill frankly shifts the tax burden away from the well-to-do. Forgotten is the $25,000 ceiling asked for by the President in his recent message to Congress. Instead, a person having an income of $1,000,000 is allowed to keep $157,000. Families with incomes of $10,000—the Congressional level—escape with a tax of only $2,064 under the committee bill as compared with the $2,549 asked for by the Treasury. The increase for the $10,000-a-year man over this year's tax amounts to a little more than 50 per cent. It is even less for the higher brackets. In contrast, a married man with an income of $2,000 will pay more than three times as much under the committee's bill as he now pays, or $152 as compared with $42, while an unmarried person earning $20 a week will be taxed approximately $90. An unmarried person earning $700 a year—less than $14 a week—will pay a tax of $32 under the committee plan as compared with $16 under the Treasury's proposals. Although the House committee has substantially raised the tax on single persons in the lower brackets, revenue derived by this increase by no means offsets that lost by the reduction of the burden on the well-to-do. It is estimated that the yield of the bill as it stands will fall short of the Treasury's estimates by nearly $2,000,000,000. Although no action has yet been taken in that direction, there is grave danger that Congress will seek to make up this deficiency by a sales tax that will again fall chiefly on the lower income groups.

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THE ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY ON WAGES became somewhat clearer last week when the President openly opposed the granting of voluntary wage increases by three West Coast aircraft corporations. The action was taken on the ground that the proposed increase would unsettle wage scales throughout the industry and might contribute to general labor unrest. A few days earlier William H. Davis, chairman of the War Labor Board, indicated that some method might be worked out for keeping low wages approximately in line with rising living costs. The two statements of policy are, of course, not at all inconsistent. Wage increases cannot be ruled out entirely during the emergency, but they should be linked to need and changes in living costs and not to any one company's ability to increase its remuneration. It is possible that as the shortage of skilled workers becomes more acute some minor adjustments will have to be made in order to assure an adequate supply of trained men. But it is important that all changes be subject to orderly review and not left to the whim of the employers. To date the War Labor Board has handled all requests for wage increases, but its authority is limited to settling disputes that arise through collective bargaining. There is need for a new wage board such as has been recommended by an inter-departmental committee to take responsibility where the NWLB lacks power. A clear-cut statement of government policy by such a board would probably do much to allay the fears of organized labor and help put an end to the reactionaries' demand for a freezing of all wages.

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IN ASKING THE SENATE TO CONFIRM THE nomination of Thomas F. Meaney to a federal judgeship, the President has again gone out of his way to meet the wishes of Boss Hague of Jersey City. Meaney is more than an ally of the Hague machine; he is such an uncomplaining stooge that he resigned his own job several years ago because that was the only way to make a place for the Mayor's son, Frank, Jr. Young Hague, who

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aspired to be a lawyer, had been thrown out of several colleges and was obviously immune to the higher learning. His father, for once referring to the law, discovered an ancient statute that permitted "lay judges" to sit on the state Court of Errors and Appeals. Deciding that this was the job for Junior, the Mayor obtained Meaney's resignation and told him to bide his time until a suitable opening appeared. When there was a vacancy on the New Jersey District Court, Hague and his man in the Senate, William Smathers, prevailed upon the President to nominate Meaney without even considering other candidates. If the President does not withdraw Meaney's name, the Senate ought to reject it. Any one of Governor Edison's candidates would be better.

Will China Be Next?

JAPAN has been quick to take advantage of the isolation of China as a result of the cutting of the Burma road. For the first time since 1938 it has launched a number of simultaneous drives against Chiang Kai-shek's major bases. The drive through Burma into the province of Yunnan appears to have been stopped, for the time being at least, by effective Chinese resistance and the approach of the rainy season. But in Chekiang, where the Chinese have retained a rich coastal region not far from the southern islands of Japan, the enemy has made considerable progress in a four-pronged drive that may have as its ultimate objective a link with the Japanese forces to the west in Nanchang. Another enemy force, said to number at least 25,000, has landed near the important port city of Foochow, just south of the Chekiang border. There are also reports of a new drive against Changsha, scene of at least three previous Japanese disasters. Minor operations are reported in southern Shansi, where the Japanese have likewise encountered difficulties in the past.

The progress of these drives is somewhat obscure as we go to press. So far the Chinese appear to be holding their own in the defense of Foochow, although the Japanese have effected a number of landings in the vicinity of the city. In Chekiang the situation is grave. It seems likely that the important city of Kinhwa, the temporary provincial capital, has already fallen to the invader. Capture of this city alone would justify whatever price the Japanese have paid in making the offensive in this region.

It is possible that the drives in Chekiang and around Foochow are primarily to locate and destroy any air bases that the United Nations might be planning to use for attacks upon Japan. This would seem the most logical explanation of the extraordinarily heavy air attacks upon this region during the past month. It is reported from Chungking that the enemy has made twenty-two raids there since April 18, employing a total of no fewer than 554 planes. One city, Kian in central Kiangsi, has suffered thirteen raids, the heaviest of which was carried out by forty-three planes. Since Kian itself is a relatively unimportant town, it must be assumed that the Japanese believe it to be an actual or potential base for air operations against Tokyo. But even if the immediate objective of Chekiang operations is the elimination of air bases, the drive is a serious threat to China's survival. Not only is Chekiang a rich province in its own right, but it has served for the past four years as one of the principal routes by which supplies have reached Free China. The Japanese naval blockade has never been very effective. By the payment of a sort of illegal tax to the naval patrols the Chinese have been able to import substantial quantities of goods, including many Japanese products, through the free Chinese ports that dot the Chekiang and Fukien coastline. The closing of these ports of entry after the barring of the Burma road would be an extremely serious blow to Chungking. If, in addition, the Japanese were able to capture Changsha and open north-south communications along the Canton-Hankow railway and east-west communications along the railway that runs from Hangchow to Changsha, China's plight would be desperate.

The gravity of the situation is emphasized by an urgent call for help from a Chinese official spokesman. The Chinese are not cry-babies. They have fought this war without very much aid from outside. But until now they have always had assurance that some supplies would reach them. During the first four years of the war the Russians maintained a steady, though inadequate, flow of planes, trucks, and light guns. For the past twelve months American supplies have been rolling in by way of the Burma road. And many needed articles have trickled in through the southern ports. Now that all these avenues are virtually closed, the Chinese naturally are anxious. They look to the United States with its vast capacity for building transport planes as their one hope of survival. Military secrecy prevents us, of course, from knowing what steps are being taken in Washington, but past experience leads us to fear that help may be delayed until it is too late.

It is possible that Japan can be defeated even if China goes down. But the loss to the United Nations of from three to four million experienced soldiers who would drive the Japanese into the sea if they were given arms could not fail to prolong the war for many months. It might even necessitate the raising and sending of an equivalent American army to the Far East. Great sacrifices may be necessary to deliver to China while there is yet time the modest minimum of goods it must have in order to carry on. But nowhere else in the world today are supplies more bitterly needed, and in no other place are they likely to be used more effectively.

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The Walsh Case

ON APRIL 30 Gustave Beekman was convicted in County Judge Leibowitz's Brooklyn court on a charge of operating a house of male prostitution. His premises in Pacific Street, Brooklyn, had been raided on March 14 by city detectives and Naval Intelligence officers after having been under surveillance for six weeks by three federal agencies, whose attention had been attracted to the place by the many members of the armed forces visiting it. After the jury's verdict Beekman was told by Judge Leibowitz that the length of his sentence would depend on the extent to which he cooperated with the authorities—a procedure which may be undesirable but is certainly hallowed by custom in our criminal courts.

As a result Beekman signed an affidavit parts of which were published on May 1 by the New York *Post*. This document gave full and unprintable details about orgies which took place at the Pacific Street house, named two Germans who were in the habit of bringing soldiers and sailors there and questioning them closely about ship movements and so forth, and referred at some length to a United States Senator who was alleged to be a frequent visitor. In its story the *Post* withheld the name of this man, together with many other particulars, in order not to interfere with official investigations said to be in progress. Not unnaturally, however, even though other newspapers left the matter severely alone, rumors began to spread, and the name of the Senator supposed to be involved was soon widely known.

On May 6 the New York *Post* stated that the man named by Beekman and other witnesses in the course of official investigations was David I. Walsh, senior Senator from Massachusetts, chairman of the Senate Naval Affairs Committee, and a prominent member of the isolationist bloc. Declaring that the evidence suggested that the Senator had visited the Pacific Street house since America entered the war, the newspaper urged editorially that a full investigation should be undertaken by the Senate. Informed of the accusation, Senator Walsh said: "It's a diabolical lie. . . . I have never in my life been in such a place."

In Washington no official cognizance was taken of the charges until May 20, when Majority Leader Barkley told the Senate that he had received an FBI report from Attorney General Biddle which completely exonerated Walsh. While he did not read the report to his colleagues, he summarized some parts of it in his speech. In the course of their investigations, it appeared, FBI officers had interrogated Beekman, who recanted his original sworn statement and admitted that the man he had identified as Walsh was another elderly New Englander, not from Massachusetts, who was about the same weight and age as the Senator but otherwise completely unlike him. Other witnesses also agreed that this unnamed man was a visitor to Pacific Street on the dates Walsh had been said to be there, and in an interview with FBI investigators the man himself admitted the fact. Senator Barkley made no suggestions for further action, but after his statement four isolationist Senators—Clark of Missouri, Tobey, Wheeler, and Nye—took the floor and denounced the *Post*, its attorney Morris Ernst, and Judge Leibowitz in unmeasured terms. Senator Clark said that there had been a "filthy conspiracy to smear a member of this body" and suggested that "the old hussy who runs the New York *Post*" should be summoned to the bar of the Senate together with Judge Leibowitz, who "must have been a party" to subornation of perjury. Similar accusations were made by the other Senators, with Nye contributing a dark hint about the existence of a secret society devoted to the collection of information for the purpose of smearing individual members of the Upper House.

The only real support for these proposals for a Senate inquiry has come from the New York *Post* itself, which has asserted that the FBI report was a flagrant piece of whitewashing and has demanded the right to be heard on the charges made against it by Senator Clark and his friends. In support of its stand the *Post* has published a third affidavit by Beekman stating that his recantation was made after hours of high-pressure questioning by FBI agents and reasserting his identification of Walsh as a frequenter of his establishment. Clearly Beekman is an unsatisfactory witness for either side of the case, but in our view the unpublished report of the Justice Department does not wholly dispose of the matter. If Senator Walsh has indeed been vindicated, then the New York *Post* has been guilty of an atrocious libel and should be indicted before the Senate or some other court. But it, too, has a right to be heard in its own defense and to be given an opportunity to disprove the very grave charges of conspiracy which have been hurled against it.

There is a point of public interest, also, which ought not to be overlooked. So summary an attempt to bury an unpleasant affair may involve the sidetracking of a full and open investigation of the house in Pacific Street. The statement that Nazi agents were habitués of this place has not been denied, and, in fact, two of those named have been interned at Ellis Island. But if their activities have been correctly described, they should not merely be locked up but should be brought to trial. Let us not forget that the exploitation of sexual irregularities has been a favored Nazi method of gathering information and organizing fifth columns. We cannot afford to encourage such methods by covering up a case in order to protect someone whose name, justly or unjustly, has been brought into it. *The Nation* strongly supports the *Post's* demand for a full and public inquiry.

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Russia in Danger

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

EVERYBODY foresaw that there was nothing to be complacent about. It was clear that as soon as the Battle of Russia renewed its violence the general uneasiness over the outcome would be reflected in an intensification of the pressure for a second front. That is what has happened, and the last debate in the Commons and the demonstrations in Trafalgar Square again have revealed England leading the movement in favor of an invasion of Europe.

The worst thing that could happen would be to have the demand for a second front become a political issue or degenerate into a cause of bitterness and suspicion. The question should not involve any consideration whatever except the interests of victory. Not even one's attitude toward the Soviet Union should be permitted to play a role in this debate. And to suspect anyone who doubts the advisability of opening a second front of defeatism or appeasement would be equally stupid and groundless. In Spain one found the best military chiefs insisting, as was their duty, on the difficulties of a proposed military operation and afterward, when the government had decided to carry it out, welcoming the decision with relief. It would be disheartening if any group should repeat the spectacle of abusing today the people who tomorrow will again be eligible for praise.

In addition, anyone who has sat in the supreme council during a war has observed the natural irritation produced in those who bear direct responsibility for the conduct of operations by advice from outsiders on when and where and how they should attack. In this particular case, the irritation must be even greater, because those who are on the inside must have the sensation of controlling an overwhelming industrial power that assures them in the near future indisputable superiority in the air, on land, and on the sea. Those people who are in the secret, who hold or believe they hold all the elements of judgment in their hands, surely anticipate with confident joy the moment when the portentous war machine now in process of construction will begin to crush under its wheels the German motorized divisions. Only imagine the day when all the fighting resources of the United Nations are mobilized for the terrific assault! For every plane of the Axis, ten of ours; for every tank, twenty; and all that splendid war material at the service both of the young expeditionary armies and of the men trained during two years of struggle in hurling the Nazis back. It is then that the Russians will receive compensation for having "held the line" until the hour struck for the invasion of Europe.

"Hold the line" becomes thus the supreme appeal addressed to an ally who in the eyes of the anti-Hitler world embodies the will to resist. And that would be all very well if "hold the line" were not offset by a terrifying alternative—the possibility that that line may break under the strain of its prolonged effort.

As the Battle of Russia develops, the opening of a second front seems, more and more, the only means of helping an army whose survival is acknowledged to be essential to the winning of the war. The clamor for an early invasion of Europe springs out of the double conviction that neither the heaviest bombardment of the German bases in France and Northern Europe or of Germany itself—of Berlin, even if it could be entirely destroyed—nor the sending of war material to Russia in the greatest possible quantities can save the Red Army if the German drive gathers the impetus that must be expected. In the opinion of people with the most authoritative knowledge of the eastern front, even if every plane and every tank that comes from an American assembly line were to be sent to Russia, the problem would not be solved in the few weeks or months available.

The only way out is a new front in Europe opened, as has been suggested in these columns, in one country or two or four, with armies attacking wherever an attack can be launched, not checked by the barriers of artificial neutralities or by the advices of a diplomacy which, since the beginning of the war, has not yet been able to register a single success.

Of course, a risk and eventually a great risk must be run. But not even the most unfortunate outcome of an attempted debarkation in Europe would lead to the loss of the war, while the smashing of Russia might well do just that.

And just what is meant by a "failure" of an attempted invasion? Nobody could expect an expeditionary army to cross Europe in a triumphant blitz and make a junction with the Russians. In the present phase of the war it would be enough if a second front forced the Germans to withdraw a considerable number of troops from the east, upset the Nazi plan of attack, and disturbed the distribution of forces which, to the last best battalion, have been sent against Russia. This would be sufficient to achieve the main objective—to prevent a great Russian defeat. It is thus that the problem must be visualized: the opening of a second front could never lead to a total disaster; the loss of Russia would be the greatest disaster that could overwhelm the United Nations.

Let us assume that, before this article is published, the last German focus of resistance in Kharkov has fallen into Russian hands. That would be a piece of excellent news. Timoshenko's successful offensive in the Ukraine is greatly to the credit of a general who, with MacArthur, shares the honors for the most aggressive strategy on the Allied side and whose armies appear to

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be in the same excellent condition as in December and January. But just as during the winter the Russian effort, though it saved Moscow and Leningrad, failed to dislodge the Germans from the key positions that provide the basis for the next offensive, so now a success in the Ukraine—even the capture of Kharkov—would not remove the terrible threat that hangs over the oil fields of the Caucasus.

Nobody wants to minimize the importance of the fight around Kharkov even from the point of view of its effect on the German attempt to push into the Caucasus. The Ukraine has always offered the most precious booty to be won through the conquest of Russia. Not only on account of its agricultural treasures but also for its production of steel, pig iron, iron ore, coal, and manganese and its powerful industries, the Ukraine has seemed to Hitler worth the greatest sacrifices. But if ten years ago the loss of the Ukraine would certainly have brought to Russia irreparable disaster, the immense program of industrialization, particularly in the fabrication of war materials, in the Urals and Kuznetz has today secured for the Russian armies a considerable supply of arms and munitions, which can be supplemented with the planes and tanks that are coming from abroad.

On the other hand, the loss of the Caucasus would be a blow from which the Red Army could hardly recover. Upon the oil of Baku depends not only the maintenance of Russia's motorized divisions, of its planes and its tanks, but of the mechanized farm equipment which produces the food for its soldiers and its heroic civil population. A serious cut in the oil supply would reduce the wonderful Russian armies to a vast conglomerate of guerrilla forces, fantastic in numbers but without adequate means to fight a machine like the German army. The war would be indefinitely prolonged and the possibility of opening an effective second front somewhere else reduced to mere sentimental speculation.

Nor is it possible to comfort oneself with the idea that the courageous scorched-earth policy practiced in the Ukraine could be equally well applied to the Caucasus. First, in the view of German experts, the oil wells, even if they were thoroughly wrecked, could eventually be restored to use. And even if they were to be rendered entirely useless for the invading army, their loss to Russia would be no less catastrophic.

It is for the oil of Baku that Hitler strikes. This is not a revelation of today. Allied experts foresaw it months ago. To immobilize the Soviet armies, to destroy the value of the war material America sends to Russia by turning tanks and planes into dead machines, and at the same time to seize the fuel Germany needs to prolong the war—that is Hitler's double objective. It is around the oil wells of Azerbaijan that the fate of Russia and the world may be decided.

What to Do About Rubber?

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, May 25

AXIS Prisoner. Modern war is war on wheels, and the wheels have rubber tires. Rubber is the first great victory of the Axis in the field of basic war materials. Japan now controls areas which produced more than 90 per cent of the world's rubber supply in 1940. In rubber we and our allies have become have-not powers.

How Much Rubber Do We Have? The Truman committee's report on the rubber situation, which will be released before this appears in print, says Leon Henderson testified that the United Nations "started the year 1942 with a total of 693,000 tons." That is less than our own consumption of rubber last year. Henderson testified that by May of 1943 the United Nations will have run entirely out of crude rubber.

Why Have We Not a Bigger Stockpile? The reasons are: (1) We were confident of our ability to hold Far Eastern rubber-producing areas. (2) The British-Dutch rubber cartel was reluctant to permit increased production. Jesse Jones, according to the Truman committee report, had a great deal of trouble in prevailing on the cartel to permit a greater rubber output. "Even . . . with Dunkirk behind them," the report says, "the British and Dutch objected to relaxing the quota." Like many of our own big business men, these rubber magnates were more concerned with control of post-war markets than with victory: "They . . . feared that if the emergency failed to materialize, excess stocks of rubber in the United States would enable the United States to control market prices." (3) By 1941 rubber output was at 100 per cent of capacity, but shipments lagged because of "business-as-usual" practices in transportation: each of the allies sought to keep as large rubber shipments as possible for its own bottoms; "a great many ships made the lengthy trip to the Atlantic coast of the United States instead of going to West Coast ports, where they could have unloaded and returned for new cargoes"; much shipping space was wasted on non-strategic materials. (4) Purchase of rubber for the government stockpile was in

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the hands of a committee of six, made up of one representative from each of the Big Five rubber companies, with the head of the Rubber Manufacturers' Association as chairman. They took care of themselves and their rubber needs first. (5) "Despite all efforts to increase the flow of rubber into the government stockpile," the Truman committee reports, "there was no substantial increment in the spring of 1941. . . . This was due to the unprecedented sky-rocketing of consumption by the public for non-defense purposes, principally automobiles, through 1941, culminating in the all-time high rate of over 900,000 tons per year during the second quarter of 1941."

Basic Trouble. The difficulty here, as in most sectors of war production, was explained to the Truman committee by a witness who has given little indication in the past of radical views. He was being questioned about the price paid for natural rubber. It cost 7 cents a pound to grow rubber on the better plantations of the East, 12 cents on the submarginal plantations. Our government was paying 18 to 20 cents a pound, yet finding it hard to get increased production. "We were continually after them," the witness said. "We did not complain about the price because it appeared to us that if we were going to get the rubber, we had better give them a price that would stimulate them and encourage them to get it out, because they were not governmental—they were private people, and they are no different from people in this country. They all want to make a profit." The witness was Jesse Jones.

How Much Synthetic Rubber Do We Have? In the form of proposals on paper, 800,000 tons. In existence: 20,000 tons of du Pont neoprene capacity and 10,000 tons of capacity at Goodrich. Both represent private enterprise. The former, however, is a specialty rubber which does not fit into the tire-producing program. Under construction: four government-financed plants of 10,000 tons capacity each, which Jesse Jones says will yield 15,000 tons each. Construction of the first began in May 1941; of the last, in February, 1942. We are told that the synthetic-rubber program will produce 350,000 tons in 1943, but the Truman committee, after examining the contracts and their completion dates, is dubious.

Suggestions. Several interesting suggestions for meeting the rubber crisis are put forward in the Truman report. The committee seems to think that military specifications for rubber could stand an overhauling. "The best information available in this country," the committee says, "is that the German army was built and has been rolling on less than 200,000 tons of rubber a year. The English have not used any quantities of rubber comparable to those our army is now seeking. . . . It may be that many military specifications are too high in view of the concededly short life of military equipment when it is engaged in battle." The committee thinks that to date the military have "been content to require the elimination of rubber for civilian use and have acted on the assumption that what rubber they need will be available." Some changes have begun to be made, but the committee seems to think more economy in the use of rubber by the military is possible.

Our Biggest Stockpile. "There are 1,000,000 tons of rubber on the wheels of motor vehicles in this country—the biggest stockpile in the world," the committee reports. "Every day that 'driving as usual' continues, 600 tons of rubber are lost." In the writer's opinion it would be wise to ration gasoline all over the country as a rubber-conserving measure, and to make the rationing regulations stricter than they are at present.

Junk Coordinator Needed. One source of rubber, as of steel, is the scrap-heap. In rubber, as in steel, the junk-man entrepreneur is unsatisfactory. We need to organize the junk business under a federal authority. Our present facilities for reclaiming rubber can handle 350,000 tons a year. Last year only enough scrap was collected for 275,000 tons. "In the junk heaps of America," the committee reports, "is hidden a greater wealth of vital rubber than our enemies could assemble from all sources available to them today. Estimates of the total amount of scrap rubber in this country vary from 500,000 to 10,000,000 tons." Let's get it out of the junk pile.

New Sources of Butadiene. Of the 800,000-ton synthetic-rubber program, 700,000 tons is for the rubber known as Buna-S. This is made from an intermediate material called butadiene, which can be made from oil or alcohol. Plants for turning the butadiene into Buna-S, the committee reports, "can be erected in a relatively short period and would require relatively small amounts of high-priority strategic materials, but to date we have expected to obtain nearly all of the butadiene through catalytic cracking of butanes which are obtained from petroleum." New cracking plants must be erected, and these require a longer time for construction and call for "large quantities of high-priority materials which are equally important in other essential war industries." Two new possibilities for the production of butadiene from petroleum are touched upon by the committee. "Some of the technical sources consulted by the committee have indicated that it is possible to obtain large quantities of butadiene speedily by converting vapor-phase thermal cracking plants now in existence." Another possibility "now being investigated by the Office of the Petroleum Coordinator" is the utilization of some small refineries which will be forced to shut down as a result of the gasoline-rationing program. These "could be converted to production of butadiene from excess gasoline of other refineries." The objection to these methods is their cost. "Cost," of course, means money cost. Both represent savings in time and materials.

This article on rubber will be continued next week.

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The Pope's Neutrality

BY G. A. BORGESE

ROMA LOCUTA, Rome has spoken, and her counsel is a negotiated peace.

> We make a warm, fatherly appeal to statesmen [so broadcast the Pope on May 13] that they may not let any occasion pass that may open up to the nations the road to an honest peace of justice and moderation, to a peace arising from a free and fruitful agreement, even if it should not correspond in all points to their aspirations. . . . The destruction wrought by the war among the nations on the material and spiritual plane is all the time accumulating to such an extent that it calls for every effort to prevent its increase by bringing the conflict to a speedy end.

We have heard similar words on many occasions from many lips. As late as April 20 we read: "We real Americans think it no crime to pray for peace. The sooner peace comes, the better for all of us, unless the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity who was crucified was a subversive when he prayed for peace." These words, however, in the last issue of *Social Justice,* bore the mark of Father Coughlin—whom few judge worthy of speaking in behalf of Christ as the Prince of Peace—while a warning pronounced by the Pope carries enormous weight with hundreds of millions, inside and outside his church, who are prepared to consider him the highest moral authority on earth.

There can be no argument against the desirability of peace—of speedy peace if possible. War as a supremely delightful adventure, as a parade of energy, as a triumph of self-expression, we leave to Nazi-Fascism and its drunken philosophers. No democrat—if modern democracy is, as we know, the offspring of Jewish prophecy and Christian hope—disagrees for a moment with Pius XII when he recalls with dismay the broken families, the ruins piling up, a spectacle of blood and grief unequaled in the past and surpassable, probably, only by what is still to come.

In this attitude toward war in general there is an unfailing coincidence between the permanent trends of the Catholic church and those of modern democracy. It is even such an attitude that accounts, partly at least, for whatever half-heartedness or lack of initiative may be found in the democratic conduct of the war. War, for Western civilization, ceased long since to be enjoyable or smart. It is accepted as a grim necessity, as a cruel duty; and even the exultation of victory, when victory comes, is not without mourning.

From this point of agreement, however, the two roads divide. A misunderstanding widens between the democracies and the Roman church, not indeed with respect to war in general, but with respect to this war or this cycle of wars. At least since 1914 we have been teaching ourselves and others that our purpose in the fight is of an ideal, even religious nature. Two generations have grown up in the concept that we have been fighting the last or the next to last war, with final victory appearing as the demolition of all hatred and slaughter, the world safe for democracy, the Four Freedoms granted to everybody everywhere. It is this conviction that, while it deprives the war of its brutal glamor, of the Homeric "joy of battle," provides the combatants with an indispensable faith, weakens the objections of the conscientious objector, even purifies to some extent those war-mongers and prophets, women and aged, who, absent from actual battle, yet deem the battle to be necessary and holy.

The attitude of the church, or of its supreme spokesman, in this respect is different. It is noncommittal and aloof. We surely do not deny that democracy has its evils. We contend, however, that our enemy is Evil. But the Pope distributes equally blame and prayer. He is above the battle, a distressed and unheeded umpire. "Now," said he on May 13, "we take the opportunity to speak once again a word of peace, and we speak that word in the *full consciousness of our absolute impartiality toward all the belligerents,* and with equal affection for all peoples without exception."

To many in our world the consciousness of such a radical disagreement between ourselves and the most influential of the Christian churches is all but unbearable. The hope that this church might finally speak openly in behalf of our cause has persevered even against evidence. Hence the unusual mission of Myron Taylor to Rome; hence so many tireless endeavors of so many political rulers and intellectual leaders. Imaginative minds have even conceived the possibility that the Pope might consent to be rescued by us from his "captivity" among the Fascists—with the obvious implication that a papal flight to a refuge abroad, even if asylum were sought in a neutral country, would mean a condemnation of Fascism and a full indorsement of our purpose.

Not only against the horror of a protracted war but also against the error of such desires has Pius XII raised his voice. The broadcast of May 13 is a declaration of neutrality absolute. It is not the first, to be sure. It is, however, the most univocal, if neutrality can be univocal, that he has pronounced so far.

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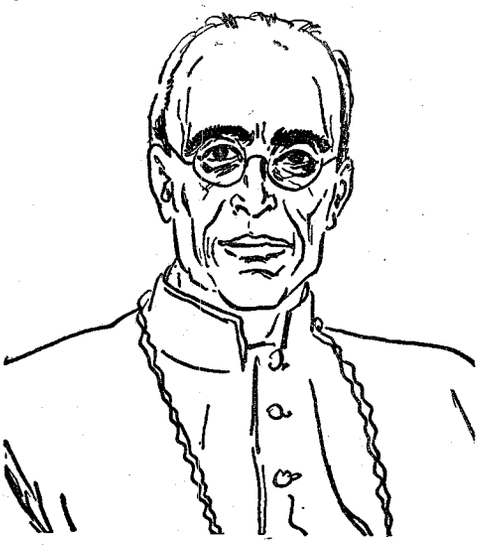

Pius XII

Many, it is to be hoped, will now become aware that the "captivity" of the Pope, much more than physical in Fascist Italy, is moral and doctrinal under the systematic command of his allegiances and responsibilities. Those in the Western world who so fervently want the Pope to cast his lot with liberal democracy have forgotten the words of Metternich, a wise man who said that he could imagine everything except a liberal pope. The Syllabus had not yet been published in Metternich's time. The Syllabus in its eightieth and final article, which follows the condemnation of religious freedom, anathematizes whosoever holds that the Roman pontiff "could and ought to reconcile himself with progress, liberalism, and modern civilization." The stern verdict has not yet been repealed by pope or council. Nor has the genealogy of the revolutions of the common man —as outlined, for example, by Vice-President Wallace, on May 8, from the America of 1775 to the Russia of 1917—ever been legitimized by the Roman church. Common men, in the papal allocution of May 13, are not urged to be "free under God" as we want them to be. They most strictly are asked to be "obedient to those who command them *and* to God" (italics mine).

On the other hand, no doubt is admissible about the contrast, basic by nature, between the Christian substance of the Catholic faith and the doctrines of Fascism and Nazism. It is sheerly inconceivable that any pope could ever agree with them *ex cathedra*. Racialism, nationalism, deification of the state have been repeatedly disowned, *ex cathedra*. Thus error is here and error is there. Evil and sin face sin and evil. We in the democratic world like to think that ours is a crusade, a holy fight, that God is with us. The Pope does not think so; nor does he think the other way. He does not seek asylum on the questionably neutral shores of Eire or Portugal. Spiritual neutrality and world-wide pity, equally extended to all who suffer for their "love of country," whatever the country is, are his chosen refuge.

Yet a question arises. Is it hypothetically admissible that of two "evils" of such relevance neither is lesser? And should the Christian Pope finally judge that a judgment between evils is mandatory, would he give his preference to Fascism and Nazism in so far as they countenance the principle of totalitarian authority which is doctrinally inherent in the Roman church? Or would he concede that democracy is the lesser evil in so far as it upholds certain fundamentals of Christian ethics and Christian hope which are paramount to the Catholic faith? The answer remains hidden.

All of us, however, have been brought up in the belief that there is a difference, that there must be a difference, between the shrewd ambiguity of pagan oracles and the decisions of Christian frankness. We have been taught that our communication must be "Yea, yea; nay, nay: for whatsoever is more than these, cometh of evil." The evasion that no choice between evils is legitimate, and that any evil is equally condemnable regardless of its size and features, would not give peace to many souls in the waging of such a war. For all of us have heard that the infallibility claimed by the Christian Pope refers to all things of "faith and morals," and the immense majority of the human race feel that all moral values are at stake in this war.

Thus the neutrality of an institution that for nearly two thousand years has specialized in the supreme business of discriminating between moral values may imply for many, Catholic or not, some kind of desertion. Many, by the gesture of the Pope, may be reminded of the gesture of Pilate. And the "impartiality" of his attitude may result in an addition to the confusion.

But let us admit for one moment that the principle of impartiality between evils is logically and ethically tenable. Let us grant that he who stands for absolute goodness is not bound to choose between relative evils. He soars above the conflict. He shuns all commitments.

If, however, the Pope declines to take sides with either democracy—let alone revolution and socialism—or Nazism, this is because he considers himself the warden of a superior truth and justice which transcend *ab aeterno* the errors of both sides. This truth and justice should suggest the terms of an "equitable" and "honest" agreement designed to stop the destruction and massacre. Indeed, the Pontiff avers, implicitly and explicitly, that such terms are thinkable. They can be found; they exist somewhere. They certainly exist in his mind. Yet he comes to the sad conclusion that it would be inopportune to make them specifically and technically known since "in the present state of affairs the formulation of specific proposals of a just and equitable peace would not have any well-founded probability of success." Inopportuneness thereby becomes a synonym for the danger of diplomatic failure. The prestige of the Curia would suffer from the lack of success. "Indeed," said the Pope in a helpless mood, "every time that one speaks a word of peace one runs the risk of offending one or the other side."

Is is impious or disrespectful to wonder whether a preoccupation of this kind is not too worldly? There are risks that must be run if opportunity is not to become a

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synonym for opportunism. In a Catholic epic novel with which Pius XII is certainly familiar a saintly bishop and cardinal, intrepid defender of the common man, says that "to suffer for the cause of justice is our victory."

Specific proposals from such an uplifted place as the Papal See might illumine many minds. They might also provide many a doubting Thomas with a touchstone to test the good and ill will of the contending parties. But openness in proclaiming neutrality and mystery in regard to specific proposals do not make for justice or peace. The Pope himself is aware—and how could he not be?—of the present military situation. "One side," he says, "bases its security on the results obtained; the other rests its hopes on future battles." But if a movement in favor of an immediate negotiated peace should start in the wake of the papal admonishment—while no concrete papal advices have been imparted as to the terms of such a peace—and if such a movement should achieve a preliminary success, it is clear enough that the Axis would negotiate on the basis of its "results obtained," while the United Nations would not even be allowed to offer in opposition their hopes of "future battles." The odds would not be "honest."

Independent thinkers and a number of orthodox believers as well are disturbed by a neutral intervention which, were it successful, would, however involuntarily, play into the hands of the Axis. It is not easy to believe that Cardinal Faulhaber listened with undivided consent to the papal broadcast. But progressive or democratic Catholics in Germany, or for that matter in any other part of the world where they need not fear tyrant or police, have not yet risen to the restoration of that medieval freedom which allowed the medieval layman or churchman to criticize and openly oppose the policy of the official church.

No institution will go changeless through the "infuriate tragedy," as the Pope calls it, of this era. The time may not be far off when the democrats within the church will make their voice unmistakably clear.

The Long Road to Victory

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

SINCE 1939 the United Nations have lost to the Nazis Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Poland, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, France, Yugoslavia, Greece, Crete, and a large part of Russia. Since December 7, 1941, the United States, tacitly regarded as the Allied champion in the Pacific and the indicated antagonist of Japan, has suffered defeat at Pearl Harbor and lost Wake, Guam, and the Philippines; the Japanese have also seized Malaya with Singapore, the Dutch Indies, parts of the Solomon Islands and New Guinea, the Andaman Islands, and all the valuable areas of Burma.

On the other side of the ledger are the conquest of Italian East Africa by British Empire troops and two purely negative victories scored by the United Nations between 1940 and 1942, when the R. A. F. saved Britain and the Red Army stopped Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union. To date not a single major victory has been chalked up to the credit of the United States, though small American forces have repeatedly given good accounts of themselves.

Nor do these facts give a misleading impression. Our losses have been as strategically serious as they have been extensive. Japan's conquests have enormously increased its military potential and at the same time have injured our economy and made even final victory extremely doubtful. Germany is striking now for strategic raw-material areas, possession of which would, in the opinion of expert military critics, put it beyond any reasonable likelihood of defeat. The needed American offensive in Europe is being put off by a submarine offensive which has been sinking ships faster than new ships can be built, depleting a tonnage already only 50 per cent adequate to present commitments.

This unpalatable review is a necessary foreword to any discussion of a strategy of victory, for only if we face the situation with all its disasters and base plans upon realities rather than wishful thinking shall we have a chance for ultimate success. We are fighting a war on two major fronts against opponents who up to the present have far excelled us in preparedness, understanding of the requirements of war, and generalship. They are today in a much better position to launch major offensives than we are. To win, we must not only achieve greater production but demonstrate better military qualities than the Axis.

Yet the requirements for victory are not complex. First, the United Nations must have an unconquerable will to win; then they must have the weapons to implement this determination effectively, the shipping to bring men and equipment into effective use in chosen sectors, and the military brains to direct these forces wisely.

Specifically, we must eliminate from all posts of power and responsibility officials content with mere lip-service as well as all demonstrated incompetents. Business as usual, politics as usual, labor as usual must go "for the

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duration." The spirit of willingness to sacrifice all for victory is an indispensable prerequisite for achieving that victory. The people of the United States have repeatedly demonstrated their understanding of this necessity to a greater extent than have their politicians. Every poll of public opinion has revealed Americans as clamoring to make sacrifices far beyond anything political leaders would dare suggest. Yet dollar-a-year men with minds attuned to the desires of business continue to delay progress in our production program. Government propaganda announces that the manufacture of such things as radios and typewriters is to stop and then permits it to continue. Men like Admiral Adolphus Andrews, under whose jurisdiction the Normandie fires occurred, receive promotion. Our production front has been enormously strengthened, but we are not yet doing everything possible or as much as the situation demands.

The number of planes, men, and ships now needed to win is comparative and probably cannot be set down in black and white. Nevertheless, the survey made by the Joint Board of the War and Navy Departments less than a year ago is of some value. An army of 7,000,000 men, greatly increased naval strength, an air force of sufficient size to permit 7,000 bombers to be used against Germany, and 18,000,000 tons of additional shipping were reported as necessary. Two unforeseen factors have since changed this picture. The first was the utter failure of both British and Americans to gauge correctly the caliber of Japan, with the consequent disasters in the Pacific. The second is the unexpectedly strong defense by Russia. The two may or may not balance, but they certainly change our requirements for carrying on a war.

As regards the army the change may be a favorable one. No great numbers of troops have been used by Japan in its push southward, and the American land forces that can be profitably employed in a primarily aerial and naval struggle are also limited. In Europe the formidable stand of the Red Army has entirely changed the complexion of the war. If an American-British offensive on the Continent can be undertaken while the Soviets are still engaging the attention of 90 per cent of Hitler's forces, nothing approaching the 5,000,000 men in 215 divisions contemplated by last year's plan will be necessary.

But if the changes of the last year have reduced the size of the armies we shall need, they have been sparing nowhere else. The burdens on shipping have been enormously increased by the need of supplying expeditionary forces in the southern Pacific. At the same time the German submarine offensive in our own waters, successful largely because of diversion of most of our sea power to the Pacific, has greatly reduced the available merchant tonnage in either ocean. We are desperately short of cargo ships, of oilers, and of their naval escorts. Our shipping program has meanwhile climbed to 23,000,000 tons in two years. It is now behind schedule and even if realized may not be adequate. Unofficial estimates of new ships needed run as high as 30,000,000 tons.

Japanese successes have of course increased the need of planes, though in this field production has gone up so rapidly that long-term prospects are rosy and the immediate future looks only less so. Greater emphasis upon certain types, such as long-range bombers and pursuit planes, is obviously needed. Our air program can very conceivably be the difference between defeat and victory. Aviation men who have maintained that air power alone or air power supported by naval and land strength can win wars have a splendid opportunity at hand to prove their words. In Western Europe the British now have a decisive superiority over the Luftwaffe and with our aid are rapidly adding to it. The development of British aviation has placed emphasis upon air power as an independent striking weapon rather than as an aid to sea or air forces. Less than a year ago the intelligence officers of our Army Air Corps expressed the minority view that a military invasion of Europe would not be practicable within the next three years, but they added that if an air offensive over Germany succeeded, a military invasion might not be necessary.

In the days before Pearl Harbor many persons believed that some other factor than supreme military-naval-air power would defeat Germany. Blockade, shortages of vital materials, internal division, propaganda, and fifth-column work, each had its champions. Now the public sees more clearly that such measures cannot destroy a Germany that is militarily triumphant. They have their use, however, as supplementary lines of attack. The United States has been scandalously negligent in not seeing the possibilities in such non-military offensives. Before our entrance into the war we actually supplied Germany with needed fats, via Finland. We have been disastrously slow in acting upon blacklists, breaking up defense-hindering monopolies, freezing Axis assets. Our raw-materials program has been an administrative mess, and departmental delays and disputes have robbed measures of economic warfare of much of their effectiveness.

All things considered, it looks as if the only way to throw Germany out of the war will be to beat it decisively on the field of battle. Since it would be the height of folly to expect Russia to accomplish this task alone, an Allied expeditionary force, largely American, is indicated. But invasion of the Continent cannot be attempted without overwhelming air superiority and is hardly feasible until German submarine sinkings have been brought under control. We are at present well on the way to gaining the necessary air superiority. The adoption of convoys along our coasts as soon as more destroyers and

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other escort types of ships have been completed should take care of the submarine situation, though not at once. Balancing these reasons for caution are the enormous advantages to be gained by striking—even with a smaller force—while the Soviet Union is absorbing all the punches that Germany can put over. If Russia should be defeated and rendered militarily impotent while we are preparing, an Allied offensive would have to start in regions remote from the center of German power and be undertaken in great force in order to stand a chance of success. Should Russian resistance continue on a large scale until the middle of 1943, formerly regarded as the earliest date on which a great American army could be ready, with the requisite shipping, Germany's chances of victory would probably have already vanished even if its vital oil supplies were not yet exhausted.

All this has been written without regard to Japan, which has shown it must be very much a factor in our calculations. Japan's project of a Greater East Asia predated the dreams of Hitler, and there seems to be no reason for the often-expressed view that the defeat of Germany will as a corollary involve the collapse of Japan. Another common error in popular thinking is the view that what has been lost may later be regained. It is true that this might happen, but the cost of reconquering territories against an alert and prepared defender is almost certain to be several times as great as that of defending them in the first place.

Any expectation of starving out Japan by distant blockade is foolish. Its situation with regard to raw materials is probably not serious save for iron, where gains by conquest have certainly not replaced loss of imports from Britain and America. In a long war this lack might well be serious. No one has suggested a weakness in Japanese morale or any likelihood of success for fifth-column or propaganda offensives. Japan will hardly surrender before it has been soundly thrashed on land and sea and in the air. Even then an invasion of its homeland might well be necessary.

There are two main schools of thought about the best means of winning in the Pacific. The air-minded group believe that Japan could be ruined by bombardment of vulnerable points on the Japanese mainland from the air. They liken this to smashing the head of an octopus in preference to dealing with its tentacles one by one. Such a plan has in its favor the great vulnerability of the Japanese target and the low probable cost in lives and material. Its practicability, however, is doubtful. We have not enough long-range bombers to attempt frequent large-scale attacks from the Aleutians, nor are our carrier-based planes equal to the land-based defenders they would encounter. The use of Russian bases, however, would change the entire picture. The raids already carried out have probably been from secret bases on the Chinese coast; here the difficulty is to accumulate enough gasoline and other supplies for frequent strong attacks.

Older plans for knocking out Japan use naval force primarily but include close air and land support. A naval force can reach Japan by following a northern route from Alaska along the chain of the Aleutian and Kurile islands and Sakhalin; by threading the Japanese-mandated islands of the central Pacific with the Philippines or Formosa as the main objective; or by taking the southern route now being used by our Australian convoys. The first is the shortest; the last by far the longest. The northern route threatens few interests really vital to Japan in its earlier stages; taking the southern route would require us to attack a long series of shock absorbers, Japan's earlier conquests, before we could strike at the enemy in his homeland. We are already committed but not confined to use of the Australian route. All involve heavy risks of failure. But in our favor is the fact that Japan has now dispersed its forces so widely that it cannot possibly be strong everywhere.

Whatever route is taken, the technique of the attack will be much the same. Since American bases are too distant to permit direct and effective blows, advanced stations will have to be seized, garrisoned, fortified, and, if possible, converted into air bases. Both sea and air superiority is necessary to success, and no advance can safely be undertaken without firmly established base facilities. Ordinarily regarded as slow, this type of campaign can be very rapid, as Japan's lightning thrusts southward revealed, if it is conducted with sufficient force.

By choosing the southern route we were able to use British possessions in the southern Pacific as our stepping-stones westward. At the time Japan was too busy with more important campaigns elsewhere to interfere with this process, though it has repeatedly made weak gestures at New Guinea and the islands directly east. The advanced stations of the opponents have now become so close that they offer a threat to each other's supply lines, abnormally long for both powers. Since Japan closed its southward campaign, sniping tactics by submarines and planes have favored the United States, though hardly to an extent likely to cripple future Japanese efforts. To date no major action has taken place, but preliminary skirmishes and reinforcement of advanced positions are a sign that the main naval battle of this war may not be far off.

In what has become a truly global war we should guard carefully against dispersion of our efforts against non-vital objectives. We now have forces stationed in every continent, many serving no very vital purpose and not strong enough to beat back heavy attack. The military principle of concentration of effort calls for the use of all available forces on the crucial front. In what is essentially a war for survival we cannot afford to continue making mistakes.

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Keep Them Out!

II. MARTIN L. SWEENEY OF OHIO

Candidate for a Democratic Congressional Nomination

BY WILL CHASAN AND VICTOR RIESEL

NO CONGRESSMAN has been more deeply involved in efforts to obstruct our war program than Martin L. Sweeney, the bumptious Ohio isolationist and anti-New Deal Democrat whom the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* described shortly before Pearl Harbor as "one of Hitler's little helpers in the Congress of the United States." "If Sweeney's views had prevailed," the *Plain Dealer* said, "Hitler by this time would have won the war, and this country would be unprepared to resist Nazi aggression in the Western Hemisphere."

The statement is not editorial hyperbole. A key member of the Fish-Nye-Wheeler bloc, Sweeney voted against repeal of the arms embargo, against the Selective Service Act, against the Lend-Lease Act, against lend-lease appropriations, and against extension of the draft period. His extreme criticism of the draft, which he characterized as "the methods of a Hitler," caused Representative Vincent to denounce him on the floor of the House.

Throughout the foreign-policy debate Sweeney was one of the New Deal's noisiest and most intemperate opponents. Typical of his behavior was an outburst on March 20, 1940, in which he advised James Cromwell, then the United States Minister to Canada, "to get the hell out of this republic." What had incensed him was a statement by Cromwell that Germany "frankly and openly seeks to destroy the institutions and social and economic order on which the United States is founded." He viewed this as an "affront to our established neutrality affecting all the warring powers in Europe," and demanded Cromwell's immediate recall. Last summer, in a particularly heated speech, he warned Roosevelt that history would regard him as an "abject failure and a leader whom generations yet unborn will look upon with disdain and contempt." Later he read into the *Congressional Record* an article which said, among other things, "To make it appear to the thoughtless that it is our war, Voltaire's counsel, 'Lie, lie, lie, and some of it will stick,' has had the floor; hence we have had nothing but the false in premise, the illogical in conclusion—an atrocious mass of the ridiculous and the deceitful."

A violent Anglophobe, Sweeney often rose in Congress to denounce Great Britain, which he represented before Pearl Harbor as a more dangerous enemy than the Axis. In a speech last August he asked, "How long will the Congress supinely submit to the influence of British plotters?" and suggested that the song God Bless America be paraphrased to read, God Save America from British Rule. Together with Fish and Wheeler he persistently criticized the Dies committee for its failure to investigate British propaganda, and he spoke of the British as the "fifth column in our midst." He opposed the official reception for King George and Queen Elizabeth during their visit here, calling them "advance agents for a new world war," and interrupted Congress with sneering anti-British remarks, some of which might easily have originated in Berlin propaganda broadcasts. He inserted in the *Congressional Record* many anti-British editorials and articles from Irish newspapers, including one in which the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies was described as "more dangerous to the well-being of America than the Fifth Column or the Trojan Horse." In 1939, for the benefit, perhaps, of those of his followers who lacked short-wave receiving sets, he delivered a long harangue against Britain at a German Day meeting in Ohio.

Sweeney's isolationist activities included serving as vice-chairman for Ohio on the Make Europe Pay War Debts Committee, organized by the late Senator Lundeen to campaign against aid to Britain and France. Lundeen was linked with Nazi propagandists, and the idea of the committee is said to have been suggested to him by the Nazi agent George Sylvester Viereck. Sweeney has called this a smear by the "same sort of rabble who convicted and crucified Jesus Christ," but the evidence against Lundeen is irrefutable.

Prescott Dennett, the committee's treasurer, operated the Columbia Press Service, in which Viereck also had a hand. The Columbia Press Service sent out the release that announced Sweeney's affiliation with the committee. It quoted him as saying that he planned to "cooperate energetically" with Senator Lundeen, and Lundeen was reported as saying that Sweeney was a "valuable addition to our forces" and that it was upon men like him "that our nation must depend for its protection against the schemes and stratagems of foreign agents and manipulators."

Examination of the *Congressional Record* shows that Sweeney, as protector of the nation against foreign agents, disseminated quantities of pro-Axis literature. On August 13, 1940, for example, he inserted a shoddily written arti-

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cle by a Colonel Ashby Williams which unqualifiedly indorsed the fascist *Lebensraum* theory. A brief quotation will indicate the substance of the article, which was specifically approved by Sweeney in his introductory remarks as an antidote for the "fog and hysteria created by the war-mongers."

> The single obstacle to the evolutionary process by which Germany and Italy would normally have acquired more land in order to support their people is Imperial England with her far-flung possessions. . . . Nazism and fascism are not ideologies, because there are no ideologies in government, but merely forms of political or-organization. . . .

Sweeney has also said in various articles and speeches:

> Our danger is not from some man-made dictator across the sea; our danger is from the subversive groups within the country.
>
> The war is only beneficial to the world trade grabbers and the international bankers who furnish its sinews.
>
> We are permitting aid to go to the communistic Russia and Red Joe Stalin, who killed 20,000,000 people by the cruel process of starvation in the Ukraine.

Much of this Axis-line propaganda came from the Make Europe Pay War Debts Committee, *Social Justice,* and the *Gaelic American,* the last a pro-Coughlin periodical, whose editor, Michael O'Reilly, was also on the war-debts committee. The rest was improvised by Sweeney or taken from such sources as Dr. Giselher Wirsing's "The 100 Families That Rule the Empire," a book published by the pro-Nazi Flanders Hall Company, another of Viereck's interests. Sweeney quoted this book directly in a speech over the NBC network and used the material on numerous other occasions.

Sweeney was not only associated with the Make Europe Pay Committee but served on the executive committee of Hamilton Fish's Keep America Out of Foreign Wars, spoke for America First, and worked with the Coughlinite Mothers of the United States, which in the Cleveland area has considerable strength. The Cleveland "Mothers," who are now an important part of his political organization, have been cooperating with Gerald L. K. Smith's Committee of One Million. The Cleveland *News,* in an editorial entitled The New Mother Racket, has charged flatly that they are anti-Semitic. Reports of their meetings indicate that they are also frenetically anti-British and anti-Roosevelt. At one meeting last June Sweeney told them, "They're getting ready to intern you in concentration camps" as soon as the United States enters the war. The "they" referred to President Roosevelt, whom the Reverend Edward Lodge Curran, another speaker, denounced as "the self-appointed dictator of the Western Hemisphere."

Although Sweeney has brought libel actions against Pearson and Allen, the United Features Syndicate, and individual newspapers for a Merry-Go-Round column in which he was described as a Father Coughlin spokesman and inferentially as an anti-Semite, both allegations seem supported by substantial evidence. Newspaper files reveal that as far back as 1933 he was extolling Father Coughlin as the "great crusader of the air," and Cleveland political reporters recall that for several years he organized National Union for Social Justice clubs and arranged mass listening parties for Coughlin's radio speeches. He was temporary chairman at the Coughlinite convention in Cleveland in 1936, and in the same year headed a Social Justice Congressional slate, predicting that Father Coughlin would send seventy-five Representatives to the House. He joined the Smith-Townsend-Coughlin coalition behind Lemke, supported the inflationary Frazier-Lemke bill, defended the Townsend plan against economic criticism and the Townsend movement against charges of racketeering, and upheld Father Coughlin, his program, and his right to be in politics.

Sweeney of Ohio

Further evidence of the fact that he is a Coughlin spokesman can be seen in *Social Justice's* flattering references to him. Before its seditious utterances caused it to be banned from the mails, the paper frequently expressed its pleasure at Sweeney's views. "The American public," it observed after the conscription fight, "will graciously remember that it was a Democrat—an anti-New Deal Democrat in the person of Representative Martin Sweeney of Ohio—who, careless of patronage and Presidential pump-handling, defied not only Franklin D. Roosevelt but the unseen war bosses whose war-will he [Roosevelt] has supinely followed for more than four years."

Sweeney has denied being an anti-Semite, possibly because his Congressional district, the Twentieth, has a significant Jewish vote. His suit against the columnists Pearson and Allen is based mainly on their allegation that he opposed on anti-Semitic grounds the appointment of a Jewish lawyer to a federal judgeship in Cleveland. Although he has been able to establish

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that the charge of anti-Semitism may be construed as libel, he has failed to persuade the courts that he never in his life "entertained an anti-Semitic feeling." His actions against newspapers carrying the controversial column have been thrown out in more than twenty courts, and in at least one a jury ruled that the Merry-Go-Round charges were true.

However, the ability of Pearson and Allen to support their charges legally seems almost irrelevant. The truth or falsity of their assertion that Sweeney opposed the appointment of a Jewish lawyer and remarked that "damned Harvard Jews have taken over the capital" is less important than the fact that Sweeney's closest political connections are with groups and individuals who unmistakably represent religious and political bigotry. At numerous Coughlinite meetings, for example, both Sweeney and the Reverend Edward Lodge Curran, Coughlin's Eastern representative, have denounced "international war-mongers," and the audience knowingly has jeered at the Jews.

Sweeney, according to a Cleveland political reporter, "has been raising hell in Cleveland and Ohio politics since a year or two after he attained his majority." He began his career some thirty-five years ago by becoming a Democratic ward leader, and worked his way up through the machine to a Municipal Court judgeship, to which he was elected in 1923 despite opposition from

"It Ain't Only Who His Friends Is; It's Who His Enemies Ain't!"

the local Bar Association. As a judge he began to denounce prohibition as "a crazy law enacted by fanatics," and this line reelected him in 1929. Two years later, although Anti-Saloon Leaguers demanded his defeat, the thirsty voters of the Twentieth Congressional District sent him to Congress. Almost immediately he began to reach out for power in the local Democratic machine. In 1932, after his return from the Democratic National Convention—where he had voted for Roosevelt although he had pledged himself both to Al Smith and to former Governor George White of Ohio—he began to organize Roosevelt clubs in competition with W. B. Gongwer, the Democratic boss, who threatened to "read him out of politics." Sweeney ran against the Gongwer candidate in the mayoralty primaries in 1933, was defeated, and thereupon threw his strength to Harry L. Davis, leader of the powerful Cleveland Republican organization. Davis was elected and rewarded Sweeney by allotting a number of political plums to his followers. This was the beginning of a series of political deals through which Sweeney, at various times, has sought to dominate Cleveland politics.

In 1933 Sweeney campaigned for the mayoralty nomination as the "original Roosevelt man in Cleveland." Part of his campaign propaganda was a parody that went, "Put on your Sweeney bonnet with NRA upon it." He continued to support Roosevelt until 1936, when he followed Coughlin into the Lemke coalition.

In Cleveland politics, with the aid of Coughlin and Townsend groups, he continued to maneuver for power, but always unsuccessfully. He was on the losing side in a fight for Democratic leadership in 1938; he lost again in 1940 when he tried to capture the county chairmanship. In 1941 he again sought the Democratic mayoralty nomination, attempting to turn the primaries into "an unofficial war referendum." His candidacy was indorsed by Senator Nye, and his most energetic support came from the United Mothers, whose officials appeared with him at every meeting. Fearing, however, that attacks on New Deal foreign policy might not prove sufficiently alluring, Sweeney combined his isolationism with an ardent defense of "bingo," which periodically has been banned by Cleveland administrations. He gave free bingo games at his campaign rallies, inviting the police to arrest him, and used as one of his campaign songs the parody, "Bring Back My Bingo to Me." Nevertheless, his meetings were poorly attended, and he was snowed under by a two-to-one vote.

Sweeney has been able to stay in Congress largely because the Twentieth is a district which votes the Democratic ticket regardless of candidates or issues, and he has been able consistently to win the Democratic nomination. This year he has two opponents and may win again unless one of them drops out. An earnest fight against him by County Chairman Ray Miller could end his political career, but Sweeney cagily has been trying to buy Miller's support by urging him to run for governor. Miller tried unsuccessfully to defeat Sweeney in 1940, but the isolationist has been losing ground ever since, and political observers agree that the coming election will provide an excellent opportunity to oust him.

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Inflation Under Price Control

BY HAROLD MAGER

THOSE who take comfort in the fact that the recent freezing of prices has staved off a disastrous inflation have still to learn that prices can no more be controlled by legislative fiat than planes and tanks can be built by invocation and prayer. The merit of price regulation lies in its affirmation of public policy, not in its ability to lay the specter which stalks the land. For it fails to reach the root causes of the inflationary crisis, and it creates, moreover, a host of new problems.

It is commonly believed that inflation, with its destruction of consumer purchasing power, is always characterized by a price rise. This is a serious misconception. The United States experienced a vigorous inflation under stable prices back in the palmy twenties, when prices failed to fall with declining costs owing to monopolistic price controls and the injection of new money and credit into the economic system. Today, with price regulation in force, we are confronted with a somewhat analogous situation. If prices remain the same while product deterioration sets in, is this not tantamount to a price rise?

The general preoccupation with rising prices has resulted in neglect of this aspect of inflation, an aspect which is destined to become more sinister as the Administration succeeds in stabilizing the price structure. Yet product deterioration has been going on for some time. Consumers have been getting less for their money not only because prices have been on the rise but because even where prices have not risen the quantity or quality of the goods has been reduced. Cakes and loaves of bread are smaller; cotton shirts have a large admixture of rayon; many packaged foods have lessened content; some soft drinks have lost their zip. With the general imposition of price regulation the trend will undoubtedly gain momentum, though inasmuch as the limits of product debasement are hardly comparable with the limits of currency debasement, it is unlikely to assume a runaway character. However, the process should not have to develop into a catastrophe before we take alarm.

Interestingly enough, the price-regulation order contained no provision covering product deterioration. This may have been because the problem is infinitely more delicate and complex than price control itself, or because the authorities recognized that the diversion of materials to more essential uses might compel the employment of substitutes. There is some evidence, however, that the Office of Price Administration is becoming increasingly alive to the possibility of such a disguised inflation. In an interpretation of the price regulations made public on May 14, Price Administrator Leon Henderson declared that if the quantity of a product offered in a unit were reduced, the price would have to be reduced proportionately, but there has been no word on the subject of quality deterioration. The order does prohibit, however, a variety of practices that sellers would undoubtedly have employed to keep within the letter of the law while violating its spirit. Section 2 provides that "no seller shall change his customary allowances, discounts, or other price differentials unless such change results in a lower price"; and that "no seller shall require any purchaser . . . to pay a larger proportion of transportation costs incurred in the delivery or supply of any commodity or service than the seller required purchasers of the same class to pay during March, 1942." These provisions suggest that a direct assault on product deterioration is considered an administrative impossibility.

If the refusal to undertake the impossible is a sign of the realism of the OPA, it is none the less an implied indictment of price control as a means of combating inflation. Generals have saved themselves from disaster by withdrawing in the face of a superior adversary, but no general in that situation has been able to claim a victory. Mr. Henderson is in much the same situation.

To many people the present price regulation is proof that Mr. Henderson has been won over to the views of Bernard Baruch, chairman of the War Industries Board and member of the Price-Fixing Committee in World War I, who has strongly advocated a universal price ceiling. In his "Taking the Profits Out of War" and in testimony before the War Policies Commission and the House Committee on Military Affairs, Mr. Baruch has stated that his ceiling was intended to cover "every price in the whole national pattern," including "rents, wages, interest rates, commissions, fees—in short, the price for every item and service in commerce." These sweeping proposals, of which Mr. Henderson has always been rightly skeptical, have achieved only partial realization in the OPA scheme.

Hailed as a venture in direct, complete control of the price structure, the price-regulation order applies actually only to a circumscribed area, and in important fields is compelled to rely on indirect controls. Real property, for example, has always constituted a convenient avenue of escape for "hot money" during inflation; but no attempt has been made to set a ceiling on the price of real estate. (To some extent, of course, real-estate prices can be controlled indirectly through rent limitations.) From an administrative standpoint the wisdom of this policy is

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manifest: the price authority will be spared the headache of trying to determine whether the "price" of an acre of land is the cost to the owner, the recent price of adjacent land, the asking price, the offering price, or a multiple of a smaller unit. The OPA's control of contract work—painting, carpentry, electrical repair—is also indirect. The lack of standardization in such services probably rules out any venture in direct control.

The two most important factors in the price rise—wages and agricultural prices—are not made subject to regulation. The standardization of farm products would make control of their prices a relatively simple matter, but the political power of the farm bloc has been great enough to exempt agricultural prices from the operations of the Emergency Price Control Act until they have attained 110 per cent of parity. If the broad advance in farm prices is allowed to continue, it will play havoc with any attempt to stabilize the cost-of-living index. According to the Department of Commerce, the index of prices received by farmers advanced from 88 in August, 1939, to 143 in December, 1941 (1909-14=100). These figures should not be confused—though the base period is the same—with parity prices; their significance is as a measure of the inflationary crisis.

No realistic attempt to come to grips with the problem of inflation should ignore the dominant share of the national income received by wage- and salary-earners, approximately 70 per cent in 1941. But this does not imply that the solution lies in wage control. In fact, the stabilization of wages and salaries at prevailing levels—if this were the only method resorted to—would be no bar to inflation at all. There would still remain the problem of siphoning off the more than $17 billion in excess purchasing power that will be created this year. Mr. Henderson himself admitted this in the addendum to his price-regulation order when he declared that "there can be no effective price control while at the same time there is so large an amount of excess purchasing power." At best, wage control could only prevent the situation from degenerating completely by prohibiting competitive bidding among employers for the services of labor in short supply.

It is doubtful, moreover, whether the OPA could successfully police the wage structure. Official wage control leads to a wilderness of theoretical and administrative brambles. Is the wage fixed for the individual or for the service he performs? Is no higher pay per hour, per day, or per week allowed? Would promotion violate the wage order? How would a disguised increase in pay through lighter duties or free lunches be handled?

That price control is likely to create more problems than it solves seems an inescapable conclusion. Sooner or later we shall have to tackle the basic factor in the price rise, the failure to achieve that redistribution of expenditures which corresponds to the planned redistribution of real resources. If this end is to be reached, our main reliance must be on fiscal policy, not on price control.

Unless through taxation and borrowing private income is converted to public use in the same measure that private production has already been converted to public use, price control must break down by virtue of its inability to withstand the accumulating pressure exerted by private expenditures far in excess of the available supply of goods. In that case, if general rationing is not resorted to, the short supply of goods will be quickly taken off the market on the principle of "first come, first served"—a result as haphazard and inequitable as inflation itself; product deterioration, as in the last war, will set in as a result of the creation of a sellers' market in which all prices tend to press against the ceiling; and black markets will spring up where people will be able to buy what they have the money to pay for. It will be inflation under price control.

In the Wind

THE BEDAUX COMPANY, which has devised many new speed-up and stretch-out schemes for industry, is under new management and has reformed. Its founder, Charles Bedaux, has not been heard from since the fall of France, and may be either working for the Nazis or their prisoner. Under Albert Ramond, who is now running the company, new efficiency methods are sold to the unions and the labor-management committees before they are instituted.

ISOLATIONISTS are trying to capture the leadership of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Bennett Champ Clark of Missouri is their candidate for president, and a whole slate of isolationist candidates for other offices has been made up.

CHRISTIAN FRONT meetings have ceased throughout the country—at least under the auspices of the Front itself or other known pro-Nazi groups. In New York, however, the Coughlinites are using all sorts of new dodges. A recent meeting at which the Reverend Edward Lodge Curran, Coughlin's Eastern leader, spoke was held under the aegis of the "Graphic Arts Anchor Club."

A DAMAGE SUIT against the state of Virginia has been filed by Howard Carwile, a share-cropper leader. Carwile, a patient in a state tuberculosis sanitarium, claims that he has lost his eyesight because of negligence and mistreatment by doctors who opposed his organizing activities.

ONE OF THE MAINSTAYS of the Brooklyn *Tablet,* which is inheriting much of the circulation of *Social Justice,* is the regular two columns of advertising which the City of New York buys for official notices. Although the *Tablet* is sectarian, it has borough-wide circulation, and therefore Mayor LaGuardia selected it as one of two papers to carry city notices. He is now being asked to withdraw this support.

A GROUP of California school teachers are under fire from patriotic organizations because they have urged their students to send old magazines and books to Japanese internment camps in Owens Valley.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Russia at War

MOSCOW WAR DIARY. By Alexander Werth. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

NOT because politics is given disproportionate place in this brilliantly written diary, but because an author's opinions invariably color his reporting, it is important to summarize Mr. Werth's distinctly personal and sometimes curious views concerning Soviet history. He believes the principal factor in Soviet evolution has been fear of war. "Probably Stalin knew from the outset that his job was to prepare Russia for a German invasion." Stalin "knew that an internationalist Russia could stand up to it less well than a national Russia." It follows that the revolutionary opposition had to be removed if a war industry was to be built up. Again, in Mr. Werth's words, "there were the Old Bolsheviks. To show them up as traitors to Russia before liquidating them was essential if their liquidation was to be accepted by the mass of the Russian people." Further, Mr. Werth says that if Stalin "had called upon the Russian people to 'defend Marxism' the result might have been much less unanimous." In his opinion, therefore, Stalin's effort, so far as Russia was concerned, was to blend two ideas that the original revolution had regarded as incompatible, Marxism and nationalism. Thus Mr. Werth accepts the Trotskyist description of Stalinism and, indeed, quite frankly labels the 1917-29 epoch Trotskyist. He freely expresses his contempt for the Communist parties outside Russia and in no sense is a fellow-traveler, since he is very happy to believe, for no clearly stated reason, that Stalin has abandoned world revolution.

The validity of Mr. Werth's views need not be debated. The advantages they give him are enormous, however. Since he warmly approves of these changes and is not interested in revolution, he is never troubled by intellectual doubts. The result is a book scrupulously honest in its reporting of facts and entirely free from special pleading. The author's sophisticated acceptance of the present regime and his passionate anti-Nazism set him free to enjoy Moscow life, and his enjoyment reawakens his love for the country of his birth. That love is simple and exuberant and very moving; the reader is constantly refreshed by the naturalness of Mr. Werth's reactions. "Moscow War Diary," like all war books, is often grim, but I have read no other war book about any country which gives such exhilarating, brilliantly imaged descriptions of a people and their cities and landscapes.

"Moscow War Diary" helps one to estimate the temper of the Soviet war effort. It would seem that the regime has provided a sound emotional nexus, in which party members and non-members alike have their place. It is utter folly to say that the war effort is being run by the G. P. U. So searching are Mr. Werth's inquiries that one may almost read, as it were, the recipe for compounding stern, even ruthless discipline with natural emotion. For instance, he gives a good deal of space to summarizing a striking article on Red Army training written by General Krassilnikov. The new disciplinary statutes introduced in October, 1940, are, the author says, completely ruthless. He quotes the General thus: "Present-day warfare requires such enormous moral tension that only the most firmly disciplined troops can face it. . . . That is why such drastic steps have had to be taken toward the final liquidation of the pseudo-democratic traditions in the army." Pseudo-democratic is perhaps a harsh word to use in description of a tradition that was the life-blood of such an incomparable force as the International Brigade; yet I believe that the general experience with non-ideological troops confirms Krassilnikov. Of the spirit of the troops the author met there can be no doubt. It was exemplary.

So it is with the propaganda to sustain civilian morale, which would appear to be composed of equal parts of incitement to hatred based on patriotism and appeals to defend the status quo for its future promise. The campaign is waged in every medium—cinema, theater, opera, newspaper, radio, and itinerant, al fresco satirical shows of hard-hitting three-minute skits. In these the reach is for the belly laugh and the yell of rage. On a higher level the opera, playing Tschaikowsky to an enraptured throng, awakens pride in Russian culture. Old propaganda plays have been adapted to the new occasion. In one of them, which contrasts a good and a bad collective farm, a character exclaims that there is nothing so annoying as an invasion just when one is putting the roof on one's new hut. The remark brought a storm of cheers, as did the love poetry of Juliet delivered by a peasant-girl character rehearsing her Shakespearean part for a performance at the collective.

Recently Stalin made an excellent speech distinguishing between the Nazi Party and the German people. He may well have been addressing his own subchiefs. Mr. Werth attended two exhibitions of war films. An Englishman present objected to the "snarling" tone used toward German prisoners, the author dissenting.

> They were very ferocious—slapstick and Wild West—but ferocious for all that. . . . A group of Russian soldiers eating sandwiches are seen taking charge of a German airman. The hungry Hun looks enviously at their sandwiches. "No bread, no ham for you, my lad," one of them remarks, munching away. . . . It's a little different from the happy prisoners' camps, pictures of which are dropped on the German trenches.

Similarly the author, who insists Stalin has solved the Russian minorities question, approves the expulsion from their homes of the Volga German community of several hundred thousand people.

Mr. Werth closes his book with speculations about the Soviets' place in the post-war world. A tired and devastated Russia "will not be interested in world revolutions; she hasn't been for years," he says. The Soviets will be ready to collaborate with Britain and other powers. In a passage of extraordinary ferocity Mr. Werth insists that Russia and Britain should be, and will be, ready to deal sternly with Germany. Apparently Mr. Losovsky's statement that it would

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be good to execute the entire S. S. and the Nazi Party, some 300,000 people, was meant to be taken seriously. Moscow's pan-Slav propaganda may or may not be effective, but the small Slav countries will be eager to enter a security bloc with the Soviets, and this will contribute to world peace, the author believes. One may take or leave these speculations, but there is no denying the colorfulness, the vigor, and the breadth of interest of this excited and exciting book.

RALPH BATES

The McCaslins of Mississippi

GO DOWN, MOSES, AND OTHER STORIES. By William Faulkner. Random House. $2.50.

WILLIAM FAULKNER'S latest volume is brought out as a collection of stories, but six of the seven stories deal with a single theme, the relation of the Mississippi McCaslins to the Negroes about them, and they have a coherence strong enough to constitute, if not exactly a novel, then at least a narrative which begins, develops, and concludes. The seventh and alien story, Pantaloon in Black, is inferior both in conception and in execution; why it was placed in the midst of the others is hard to understand, for it diminishes their coherence. But conceivably Mr. Faulkner intended it to do just that, wishing to exempt the collection from being taken for a novel and judged as such. Yet it is only as an integrated work that the group of McCaslin stories can be read.

Mr. Faulkner's literary mannerisms are somewhat less obtrusive than they have been, but they are still dominant in his writing, and to me they are faults. For one thing, I find tiresome Mr. Faulkner's reliance on the method of memory to tell his stories. No doubt we can accept what so many Southern novelists imply, that in the South a continuous acute awareness of regional, local, and family history is one of the conditions of thought. But the prose in which Mr. Faulkner renders this element of his stories is, to me, most irritating; it drones so lyrically on its way, so intentionally losing its syntax in its long sentences, so full of self-pity expressed through somniloquism or ventriloquism. Then, too, while I am sure that prose fiction may make great demands on our attention, it ought not to make these demands arbitrarily, and there is no reason why Mr. Faulkner cannot settle to whom the pronoun "he" refers. Mr. Faulkner's new book is worth effort but not, I think, the kind of effort which I found necessary: I had to read it twice to get clear not only the finer shades of meaning but the simple primary intentions, and I had to construct an elaborate genealogical table to understand the family connections.

These considerations aside, Mr. Faulkner's book is in many ways admirable. The six McCaslin stories are temperate and passionate, and they suggest more convincingly than anything I have read the complex tragedy of the South's racial dilemma. The first of the stories is set in 1856; it is the humorous tale of the chase after the runaway Tomey's Turl —it takes a certain effort to make sure that this is a slave, not a dog—of how old Buck McCaslin is trapped into marriage by Miss Sophonisba Beauchamp and her brother Hubert (rightfully the Earl of Warwick), and of the poker game that is played for Tomey's Turl; the humor is abated when we learn that Turl is half-brother to one of the poker players. The last story is set in 1940; its central figure is the Negro murderer Samuel Worsham Beauchamp, descendant of Tomey's Turl and related to the McCaslins through more lines than one.

The best of the book does not deal directly with the Negro fate but with the spiritual condition of the white men who have that fate at their disposal. The Edmonds branch of the McCaslin family—there are three generations of Edmonds, but Mr. Faulkner likes to telescope the generations and all the Edmondses are really the same person: this does not exactly make for clarity—represents the traditional South; Isaac McCaslin, who is by way of being the hero of the narrative, represents the way of regeneration. The Edmondses are shown as being far from bad; in their relation to their Negroes they are often generous, never brutal, scarcely even irresponsible; but they accept their tradition and act upon their superiority and their rights, and the result is tragedy and degeneration both for the Negroes and for themselves. The effects are not always immediate and obvious; one of the best passages in the book, and one of the most crucial, is that in which, as a boy, Carothers Edmonds asserts his superiority over his Negro foster-brother and then, seeking later to repent, finds the tie irrevocably broken and his foster-family, though wonderfully cordial, stonily implacable; and this failure of love which Edmonds's tradition imposed upon him seems to affect his whole life.

As against the tradition which arrests the dignity of possession and the family, Isaac McCaslin sets the dignity of freedom and the unpossessable wilderness. The experience by which his moral sensibility is developed is a kind of compendium of the best American romantic and transcendental feeling. Cooper, Thoreau, and Melville are all comprised in what he learns from Sam Fathers, the Chickasaw Indian (but he was enough of a Negro to be glad to die), from the humility and discipline of hunting, from the quest after a great bear, a kind of forest cousin to Moby Dick, from the mysterious wilderness itself. So taught, he can no longer continue in the tradition to which he is born; at great and lasting cost to himself he surrenders his ancestral farm to the Edmonds branch.

It will of course be obvious that so personal and romantic a resolution as Ike McCaslin's is not being offered by Mr. Faulkner as a "solution" to the racial problem of the South; nor, in representing that problem through the sexual and blood relations of Negro and white, is he offering a comprehensive description of the problem in all its literalness. (Though here I should like to suggest that Mr. Faulkner may be hinting that the Southern problem, in so far as it is cultural, is to be found crystallized in its sexual attitudes: it is certainly worth remarking of this book that white women are singularly absent from it and are scarcely mentioned, that all the significant relations are between men, and that Isaac McCaslin is the only man who loves a woman.) But the romantic and transcendental resolution and the blood and sexual ties are useful fictional symbols to represent the urgency and the iniquity of the literal fact. They suggest that its depth and its complication go beyond what committees and commissions can conceive, beyond even

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the most liberal "understanding" and the most humanitarian "sympathy." Mr. Faulkner not only states this in the course of his book; he himself provides the proof: the story Pantaloon in Black is conceived in "understanding" and "sympathy," like every other lynching story we have ever read, and when it is set beside the McCaslin stories with their complicated insights it appears not only inadequate but merely formal, almost insincere. LIONEL TRILLING

Report on the South

BELOW THE POTOMAC: A BOOK ABOUT THE NEW SOUTH. By Virginius Dabney. D. Appleton-Century Company. $3.

A BETTER subtitle for this book would be "A Newspaperman's Report on the South." Essentially that is what it is—and this is not meant in a deprecatory sense. It is good to be offered a calm, matter-of-fact appraisal of the South as it is today, particularly since we have quite recently had excellent impressionistic studies—Jonathan Daniels's "A Southerner Discovers the South," for one—and the late W. J. Cash's searching inquiry into "The Mind of the South." Virginius Dabney's book was written for those who seek current information about Southern progress, and it does a good job of providing just that. Were it not for that always misleading and involving phrase, "The New South," which Henry Grady first used in 1886, Mr. Dabney would have spared himself and his readers a labored first chapter which successfully and, it is to be hoped, unnecessarily proves that the "Old South" was neither a large-scale model of Uncle Tom's Cabin nor an aromatic compound of magnolia and mint julep.

That out of the way, Mr. Dabney proceeds vigorously to an examination of the Southern scene. In Southern politics he finds much that liberals everywhere, including Mr. Dabney, would like to see cut out from the body politic; even if the two suggestions made in "Below the Potomac"—abolition of the poll tax and the regeneration of the two-party system—would not immediately make Norrises out of the South's tawdry display of a Reynolds and a Dies and a Smith, they would at least constitute a step in the right direction. On the question of civil liberties, Mr. Dabney turns in a verdict that can be summarized as "better, with more improvement desired, and more on the way." He throws some light on the explosive problem of the Southern Negro by discussing such recent occurrences as the Supreme Court decision on graduate-school facilities for Negroes. Here in particular Mr. Dabney's study of the issues involved can be recommended to the Northern liberal.

In short, "Below the Potomac" is the product of a native son who wants to see the South come abreast of the times and, in Maury Maverick's phrase, "join the United States." In the slow but inevitable disappearance of sectional animosities and in the economic advances of recent years Mr. Dabney sees grounds for believing that this will not be too long in coming, even though he instinctively distrusts the apparently simple and generally logical programs pushed by reformers who too frequently do not understand the nature of the backwardness out of which they earnestly wish to drag the

Mary McCarthy,
AUTHOR OF
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THE PUBLISHERS are certain that the publication of *The Company She Keeps,* Mary McCarthy's first novel, marks the inception of a distinguished literary career.

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Mary McCarthy approaches her heroine in the manner of an experimental photographer. Each episode is a different portrait of her, shot from a different angle, in a different light, and the author shifts the point of view as the photographer moves his camera. The result is a three-dimensional portrait of a woman. The author is the wife of Edmund Wilson and formerly a book reviewer for *The New Republic.* (Just published. Price $2.50)

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South. So Mr. Dabney, in discussing the New Deal's work in the South, which by and large he indorses, finds reason to regret that so much of the experimenting blundered even while the greater part of the work outdid the effects of decades of unenlightenment and poverty.

This ought not to surprise anybody, and it probably won't, if we except those whose convictions are too firm for facts to move. If there is a specific recommendation to be made for future reference, it might be this: that we stop talking about *the* South, which is now, after all, only a handy geographical abstraction that has very often turned out to be extremely unhandy in attempts to help the South assume its rightful place in the nation. Everyone who has set out to "do something" about the South, the New Dealers included, has invariably proceeded on the assumption that the similarities to be found among its component parts were more significant than the differences. If this reviewer has read Mr. Dabney correctly, one conclusion that should be drawn from "Below the Potomac" is that it might be time to try that theory in reverse.

WILLIAM JAY GOLD

The Great Steal

OUR LANDED HERITAGE: THE PUBLIC DOMAIN 1776-1936. By Roy M. Robbins. Princeton University Press. $5.

WHEN President Roosevelt on February 5, 1935, withdrew all public lands from private entry, his act marked the end of the frontier, whose passing historians had been heralding for over forty years. It also marked the end of one of the most discreditable chapters in American history—the spoliation of the public domain. With a wealth of documentation Dr. Robbins has chronicled this phase of our history from 1776 to 1936. Unlike other historians of the public domain, he has patiently related the development of public-land policies to contemporary events and thereby made his work a notable improvement over prior books on the same subject. All the pertinent historical facts about the public domain are probably collected in this volume, including the history, background, and main provisions of every Congressional act and executive order relating to the public lands. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Robbins has compiled a source book rather than written a history. Here is a wealth of information in search of an author with a thesis, or, if not a thesis, then at least a few leading ideas which would serve as a frame of reference for the mountainous accumulation of factual material.

The only thing of general significance that Dr. Robbins apparently sees in this long story of theft, chicanery, and fraud is that once upon a time we, the people of the United States, owned the most magnificent public domain on the face of the earth and now, in 1942, our inheritance is but a fragment of what it should rightly be. Far from reading any historical meaning into this state of affairs, or relating it to the rise of American capitalism, Dr. Robbins is content to note the fact itself. He divides the history of the Great Steal into four periods: from 1780 to 1850 the individual pioneer was the chief looter; from 1850 to 1862 the corporation, organized for plunder, was the pickpocket; from 1862 to 1901 the great industrial empires organized the pilfering on a more grandiose scale; and from 1901 to 1935 the government, suffering a few qualms, undertook to conserve what remained of the public lands. Having recited the facts of spoliation, Dr. Robbins abruptly ends his narrative, leaving the reader to inquire, I fear, "So what?"

Unquestionably there is something to be said for the technique of letting the facts speak for themselves, but when morosely pursued through 441 pages the technique seriously militates against the interest, readability, and significance of the story itself. As an example of how facts are noted but their significance ignored, consider one item. For years we have been nurtured on the idea that at one time America was a land of homesteads, that the homestead principle was a cornerstone of our agricultural policy. Yet what are the facts? The first homestead act was passed in 1862, by which time the bulk of the best farm lands had already passed into private ownership. Not only was the homestead principle established late in the history of the public domain, but it was subject to almost universal abuse in actual practice. Furthermore, its stupid application to the arid lands of the West brought into production lands that should have remained unplowed, thereby luring tens of thousands of settlers to subsequent economic ruin in the Dakotas, Montana, and Nebraska. Here is a phase of land policy which has a direct bearing upon current agricultural migration, upon the problem of soil erosion, upon the consolidation of farm units, but these aspects of the matter are not even mentioned.

From 1776 to 1936 our public-land policies were, in fact, one continuing fiasco, with blunders and stupidities endlessly repeated. Even when the government in moments of penitence tried to correct some of its past mistakes, the very amendments designed for this purpose were generally used by predatory interests to tighten their control over the public domain. Our acquisitive society, it would seem, was bent upon complete spoliation—of farm lands, of mineral lands, of timber lands—with the government apparently powerless to hold back the invaders. When it was realized, for example, that the railroads, in many cases, had not built the roads for which grants had been made, the government was never completely successful in recapturing title to the grants; with few exceptions the railroads continued to retain title to lands which, in effect, they had stolen from the public. By the time the conservation program of Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot was put into effect, most of the damage had already been done, and conservation of the remaining resources actually aided the lumber companies to tighten their monopolistic control over the timber lands.

There is no doubt that the material so laboriously collected by Dr. Robbins is the stuff of which an exciting history might have been written. A little indignation, a little social insight, a passion for ideas as such might have pulled the loose ends together into a coherent pattern. In part, also, Dr. Robbins, by merely reciting instance after instance of fraud and theft, seems to accept the past in a rather apologetic way, jotting down the misdeeds of past years much as a clerk might make entries in a ledger. Actually the treatment of the public domain—the thefts, misuse, and undemocratic distribution—profoundly influenced the growth of American

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capitalism. It made possible the swift expropriation of thousands of small farmers; it accelerated the concentration of important timber and mineral resources in corporate ownership; it was responsible for the anomalous spectacle of land monopolies in frontier states. And by the same token it weakened the base of American democracy just at the time when there was great need of forces capable of imposing some restraint upon industrial power.

Today we have just begun to realize the vast reconstruction that must be undertaken to overcome the ravages worked in our landed heritage by an unfettered indulgence of the profit motive. Today there is a dawning realization that all land must be regarded as a public resource. There is, moreover, as Dr. Robbins points out, some indication that, through the purchase of submarginal lands and the acquisition of tax-delinquent lands, a considerable portion of the old public domain may once again come into government ownership—unfortunately, much as junk drifts back to the original manufacturer. In formulating the land policies of tomorrow, thanks to the research of Dr. Robbins, there can be no excuse for repeating the catastrophic blunders of the past.

CAREY MC WILLIAMS

The Lady of Lourdes

THE SONG OF BERNADETTE. By Franz Werfel. The Viking Press. $3.

WHEN Franz Werfel was attempting to escape from France, he spent some weeks at Lourdes. During that period he vowed, he tells us, to write the story of Bernadette Soubirous as an offering of thanks if he did make his escape. "The Song of Bernadette" is that story. As the story of Bernadette herself it is a biography in fictional form of the saint who, as a child out gathering faggots one raw February day in the middle of the last century, saw the vision of "the beautiful lady" in the niche of the cavern of Massabielle, a place of refuse and offal, "not at all an unprecise and ghostly or a transparent and airy image, no changeful dream vision, but a very young lady, delicate and dainty, visibly of flesh and blood." To the child Bernadette it is simply "the lady," whom she loves and with whom she wishes to commune privately. But from the first the world intervenes—her family, pious old women who wish to dominate her, the children at school. Small crowds begin to follow her on her daily visit to the cavern, crowds of the curious, the skeptical, the devout, the hopeful. The mysterious spring appears in the cavern, and the first healing occurs, the healing of a child who in the last chapter of the book reappears as a guest at the canonization of Bernadette; he is then a simple, hale old man who after the ceremony goes out to eat a plate of noodles at a sidewalk cafe and falls asleep fingering his beads, while a war plane drones across the clear Roman sky. But after the first healing the world intervenes more and more violently, and the story of Bernadette, the simple, candid child, is absorbed into another story, the story of the impact of the vision upon the world.

Of this second, broader story "the lady" rather than Bernadette is the heroine. Her antagonists are numerous and constitute a panorama of nineteenth-century European so-

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ciety. There is the nun, Sister Vauzous, daughter of a general, the teacher of Bernadette, who for years cannot kill a suspicion of her old pupil, but who in the end discovers that she herself has all along been wondering why the vision had not, more appropriately, been granted to her. There are the officials who feel that the vision strikes somehow at the very root of the modern state, but who are defeated when Napoleon III reverses the edict closing the cavern. There is the intellectual, Lafite, a defeated poet, a romantic, who feels that "God did not place him on life's stage but invited him to sit in the royal box," but who in the end, an old man suffering from a cancer of the throat, comes back to Lourdes and receives, if not relief from his disease, a sense of humility and a sense of unity with the mass of humanity whom he had scorned. There is Mayor Lacadé, the opportunist, whose motive "was the most sincere and strongest of the whole age, namely, good business," and who dreams of commercializing the spring for its medicinal minerals. There is the physician, Dozous, who says to a colleague at the time of the first cure, "It is not an agreeable thing for us. . . . I too am not accustomed to believe things I cannot see." Then, among many other figures, there are the churchmen who have their own special struggle with the child Bernadette and with "the lady," the bishop who says, "The extraordinary is poisonous to any institution, be it state or church," and the other bishop who, upon hearing Bernadette, goes out into the garden and murmurs, "Quel poème . . . quel poème!" Almost no one can understand Bernadette because all "were accustomed to estimate life by the sole measure of success." And the vision shakes the age because a "miracle supported by proved but inexplicable cures meant so enormous a breach in the official deism and non-official nihilism of the age as to shake to their foundations both the certainty of unbelief and the uncertainty of faith."

Werfel has handled the personal story of Bernadette with grace and simplicity. Her character is tellingly rendered, not only in its effect upon others but in direct terms, and her conflict with the world is treated with great narrative skill. In fact, the suspense maintained by Werfel up to the point where Napoleon intervenes to open the cavern is a technical achievement of a high order. In his treatment of the larger story the novelist has perhaps been a shade less successful, if one applies the ordinary standards of fiction. It is only natural that the characters should tend to become somewhat schematic, too much like figures representing certain social forces. But this tendency has been held in check for the most part, and two of the most moving scenes in the book, that of old Lafite in the church and that of Peyramale at the death of Bernadette, involve such characters and suddenly vivify them. But even when this transformation of the intellectual shadows does not occur, the book is effective in presenting in terms of ideas the dramatic conflict of "the lady" and the world.

ROBERT PENN WARREN

In Early Issues of The Nation

"Jews in a Gentile World"—a Symposium
REVIEWED BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Mary McCarthy's "The Company She Keeps"
REVIEWED BY CHRISTOPHER ISHERWOOD

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IN BRIEF

FROM MY HIGHEST HILL. By Olive Tilford Dargan. J. B. Lippincott Company. $3.50.

Olive Tilford Dargan writes also under the name Fielding Burke. The nine short stories in this volume were originally published several years ago under the title "Highland Annals." They have been revised and are now republished with fifty photographs by Bayard Wootten. The author is here writing of her highland neighbors in the Carolina mountains. Entirely plotless, the stories are perhaps more truly sketches, but whatever they are called, they are written with sincerity and great skill in characterization. Even more worthy of praise is the absence of that sentimental awe with which most authors approach the mountain people. These stories are worth reading.

THE MUSIC OF SPAIN. By Gilbert Chase. W. W. Norton and Company. $4.

This is an interpretative rather than strictly chronological history of Spanish music, from the *cantigas* of the thirteenth century to De Falla and after, with chapters on folk music and dances, one on the music of Portugal contributed by Albert T. Luper, and one on Hispanic music in the Americas. Its value for the student is increased by notes, full bibliography, and extensive gramophone record lists. Varied and interesting illustrations, appropriate design and typography, and an enchanting yellow binding add to its charms for the general reader.

RECENTLY PUBLISHED

The Knight of El Dorado: The Tale of Don Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada and His Conquest of New Granada, Now Called Colombia. By Germán Arciniegas. Translated by Mildred Adams. Viking. $3.

What the Citizen Should Know About Civilian Defense. By Walter D. Binger and Hilton H. Railey. Norton. $2.50.

The Roaring Land. By Archie Binns. McBride. $3.

Consumer Cooperative Leadership: Organizing and Running Consumer Cooperatives. Edward A. Filene Good Will Fund. $1.25.

War Planes of the Axis. By David C. Cooke. McBride. $2.75.

"Sound Off!" Soldier Songs from the Revolution to World War II. By Edward Arthur Dolph. Farrar and Rinehart. $3.50.

The Coming Age of World Control: The Transition to an Organized World Society. By Nicholas Doman. Harper. $3.

The Field of Social Work. By Arthur E. Fink. Holt. $3.

Report to American Jews on Overseas Relief, Palestine, and Refugees in the United States. By Eli Ginzberg. Harper. $1.

Consumer Instalment Credit and Economic Fluctuations. By Gottfried Haberler. National Bureau of Economic Research. $2.50.

Flying Squadrons: A Graphic History of the U. S. Army Air Forces. By Paul Johnston. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $3.50.

Washington Is Like That. By W. M. Kiplinger. Harper. $3.50.

The Cornerstones: A Conversation in Elysium. By Eric Linklater. Macmillan. $1.

Rebirth in Liberty. By Eva Lips. Flamingo. $3.

With Love for France. By Helen Mackay. Scribner's. $2.

Our India. By Minoo Masani. Oxford. $1.75.

Democracy, Efficiency, Stability: An Appraisal of American Government. By Arthur C. Millspaugh. Brookings. $2.

The Wind Blew from the East: A Study in the Orientation of American Culture. By Ferner Nuhn. Harper. $3.

Flight to Freedom. By Barbara Padowicz. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $2.75.

Forward the Nation. By Donald Culross Peattie. Putnam. $2.50.

Uncensored France: An Eyewitness Account of France Under the Occupation. By Roy P. Porter. Dial. $2.75.

The Face of South America: An Aerial Traverse. By John Lyon Rich. American Geographical Society. $4.

Science, Philosophy, and Religion. Second Symposium. Conference on Science, Philosophy, and Religion in Their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life. Country Life Press. $3.

High Border Country. By Eric Thane. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $3.

Of the People. Edited by Harry R. Warfel and Elizabeth W. Manwaring. Oxford. $2.30.

The House Committee on Foreign Affairs. By Albert C. F. Westphal. Columbia. $3.

DRAMA

The Heart of a Wookey

AMERICAN plays about the war have at least been various in incident and approach, but as far as one can judge from the three specimens to reach these shores, the English treatment of the subject has already become standardized. "The Heart of a City," like "The Wookey," relied on an air raid for its big scene, and the point of both was that falling bombs are great adjusters of individual differences. Now Paul Vincent Carroll's "The Strings, My Lord, Are False" (Royale Theater) gives us a group taking refuge in the crypt of a church instead of in a theatrical dressing-room or an official shelter, but otherwise the play is much the same despite its pretentious title. It is not surprising that an Englishman who thinks about the war should think about an air raid, but on the stage it is getting a bit monotonous.

Mr. Carroll appears to have started with the intention of discussing a large intellectual question. His action is set in a slum community on the Clyde, and several of his principal characters, including a liberal-minded priest, a conscientious objector, and a Communist workman, do not think that England before the war was a very green or very pleasant land. In fact, the Communist composes some last words which he never gets a chance to use but which were to be, "I do not die for the system but for the people." Mr. Carroll, however, gets so involved in local color, conventional melodrama, and a couple of other plays he would like to write some day that there is not much time left over for the discussion of his theme. When the elegant monsignor comes to remonstrate with the social-minded canon, the play appears about to turn into another "Shadow and Substance." Much of the rest of the time it is so occupied with a big-hearted whore and a nice girl about to have a baby by a man she doesn't really love that only the sound effects remind us that this is not the melodrama about the good in the worst of us.

Nor, to tell the truth, do the specimens of his more thoughtful writing which Mr. Carroll manages to find time for arouse very profound regret that there is not more of it. What he wants to say is that at least half of England is not fighting to save what it had but fighting for a chance to make something better, and that those who do not see why victory is a necessary condition of any future hope are a diminishing minority. But on this subject he is not very clear, very forceful, or very original. The conscientious objector whose father had been clubbed to death by the police raves; a Jew who lost his arm at Dunkirk prophesies in a mock-heroic vein; and at the end the priest delivers a long, dull speech intended to sum the whole matter up. But none of the eloquence is very effective, and the author seems more certain that he has something to say than sure that he is capable of saying it.

A large cast which includes some very capable performers works hard without ever succeeding in pulling the play to-

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gether or giving more than competently stagy performances. Walter Hampden, a dignified priest, is perhaps the best of the lot. Ruth Gordon, who rarely fails to make much of any character she plays, can do little with the girl who is going to have a baby. Margo Graham plays her part in "The Wookey" over again, and Ralph Cullinan does very well in a standard Abbey Theater character. Philip Bourneuf is all that could reasonably be expected as the objector who—it would not be hard to guess—ceases to object when his sweetheart is killed in a raid.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

MUSIC

VIRGIL THOMSON'S discussion of three chapters in "Radio Research 1941" (Duell, Sloan, and Pearce; $2.50), edited by Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Frank Stanton, led me to get hold of the book and read the chapters myself. The book comprises six studies of the relations of broadcasts and listeners—studies "directed from Columbia University's Office of Radio Research, financed by a grant of Rockefeller funds"; studies through which "the social scientist may help to contribute toward a more constructive use of radio." Three of the six deal with music.

The Popular Music Industry, by Duncan MacDougald, Jr., describes how popular songs are produced and how they are promoted by intensive "plugging" over the air; and shows that the preference of millions of people for a "hit" is not spontaneous but is predetermined by this "plugging," which prevents these people from actively exercising taste and compels them to yield passively to the song industry's standards.

Edward A. Suchman's Invitation to Music, an interesting "study of the creation of new music listeners by the radio," would be more valuable if it were not blurred by poorly ordered progression of thought and unprecise writing, and were not obscured further by the jargon with which a social scientist achieves his scientific precision of statement in the statistical investigations that are his exact science—all of which may be why my summary of the chapter's contents will be different from Mr. Thomson's. The listeners investigated were approximately every tenth subscriber among the 9,000 who got Station WNYC's Masterwork Bulletin. Of 765 such listeners 15 per cent said that radio had initiated their interest, 38 per cent said that radio had developed or nursed an already existing interest, and 47 per cent said that radio had merely supplemented other sources of music that had satisfied their interest. Among the newly initiated there were twice as many men as women: men who had been unwilling to give the necessary effort and time to study of an instrument or attendance of concerts now listened to the music which radio made easily accessible in their leisure time. In this group, also, there were a great many over thirty years of age: those who had failed to develop an interest during adolescence had responded to the second chance that radio had offered them; and to some who had developed an antagonism to music in childhood from being compelled to listen, radio had offered the opportunity for a voluntary choice which they had accepted. The role of radio, for the newly initiated, had been to provide the opportunity to listen that had made other influences—like those of family background, formal education, friends' example—effective; and in two-thirds of the group there had been some predisposition toward listening which radio had activated in this way. The tastes in music of the newly initiated were less sophisticated than those of the other two groups of listeners; and so was their attitude toward the music: "Signs of real understanding are lacking. . . . Music is listened to for romantic relaxation or excitement, without any concern for the development or the relations of the music." For most of the newly initiated radio continued to be the only source of music; when radio led elsewhere it was mostly to the phonograph; if a concert was attended it was from curiosity about the musician who had been heard over the air.

"Further discussion of listless listening," which would seem to be the only radio kind that is possible," says Mr. Thomson, "is offered in T. W. Adorno's analysis of the 'radio symphony.'" But the Suchman report does not demonstrate that listless listening is "the only radio kind that is possible"; and I find it difficult to write temperately of the motivation, the method, the results of the Adorno performance—of the pretentiousness, the ostentation, the aggressive awareness of his own "brilliance" that leap out at one from this German philosophy professor's tortuous and occasionally ferocious thinking and jargon, from his musico-socio-psychological schematizations which yield the lurid conclusions that Mr. Thomson welcomes "with cries of joy": that because of the inadequacies of radio transmission the meaning of a Beethoven symphony movement "automatically shifts from the totality to the individual moments [since] their interrelation and articulation by dynamics and colors is no longer fully effected," and that "the symphonic particulars become atoms"; that this causes the elements of the movement to acquire the character of mere quotations, and the radio symphony to appear "as a medley or potpourri in so far as the musical atoms it offers up acquire the touch of having been picked up somewhere else and put together in a kind of montage"; that the isolated detail acquires more weight, more importance, more expressiveness than it had in its context, and so radio not only atomizes and trivializes the music but romanticizes it; that these changes in the movement's essential structure mean "not only that this structure is not adequately conveyed but that what does come out opposes that structure and constitutes a serious obstacle against its realization"; that radio transmission provides an "exact and objective technical foundation" for "the tendency toward atomistic listening" and "prejudices the capacity to listen in a spontaneous and conscious way," forcing listeners "to passive sensual and emotional acceptance of predigested yet disconnected qualities, whereas those qualities at the same time become mumified and magicized." And more of the same.

The alarming thing is that the matter goes further than this chapter. It isn't only Mr. Thomson who utters cries of welcome; Adorno's tripe is the sort of thing that social science research institutes, foundations, and journals go for. He is, we are told, "associated with the Institute for Social Research at Columbia University" and "has been in charge of the music research at the Office of Radio Research"; his influence in this research, his status and power are attested by the other writers' genuflections to his suggestions, ideas, and writings: even MacDougald cannot mention the song publisher's dictation to the song writer without a "Cf. T. W. Adorno, 'The Fetish Character of Music and the Retrogression of Listening,' *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, Vol. 7, 1938, p. 336."

And the matter goes further than Adorno. But that will have to wait.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

A Soldier's Wants

Dear Sirs: I am amazed at the meager understanding of soldiers' problems expressed by civilians. Soldiers in the mass want more pay and more time off. They do not seek to avoid the danger of warfare or the hardships of maneuvers or training. They want to avoid boredom. A soldier does not relish entertainment of the manufactured kind practically thrown at him near the camps. What he wants is spurts of hard training and then long passes, furloughs and week-ends with money for travel, hotels, food, and entertaining girls or else old cronies. I have never met one yet who did not know exactly what to do with himself on a free week-end. The idea that morale will deteriorate if distraction and entertainment are not publicly provided for soldiers is pure nonsense. More pay and more frequent passes is all in the world a soldier wants, be he a veteran or a draftee. They all know exactly what sort of thing in a city is their idea of a good time, and they need only money and time to attain it. Desire to race out of camp after retreat in the evening or on a week-end simply indicates that like any workman a good soldier likes to leave the factory or office at the end of the day and relax in a different environment.

From June, to December, 1941, I received training on transports for landing operations and in the Carolinas for land maneuvers. It was an unending physical-endurance contest. But the number of complaints, serious ones, and the number of desertions were negligible. After climbing up and down the side of a ship again and again with pack and rifle, enough to sink and drown me, and after being over a month in the Carolinas without having one night a roof over my head, I believe I could endure any form of hardship man could invent. But I never felt better in my life, except for the infrequent bathing facilities. A thing we all experience in either civilian or barracks life—that profound disinclination to get up when first awakened—is strangely absent when you are in the field. The ground is so hard you are glad to get up when awakened. Also you are glad to lie on it after walking all day. No soldier regrets the hardships of maneuvers. He regrets being broke or being cooped up in camp week-ends or being unable to start out for home because of the distance and the lack of plane fare.

Soldiers resent any pure stupidity perpetrated by a public official. They resent generalized regulations, such as age restrictions on pilots or officer candidates, instead of individual, personal tests as the deciding factor in the conferring of various privileges and opportunities. They resent red tape. Also they resent nauseating emotionalism, particularly as applied to patriotism. They regard the Germans and Japanese as weeds which must be destroyed and themselves as a sort of lawnmower which will in time do the destroying. They resent any domestic disorder which delays the forging of that machine.

There is a high degree of tolerance of racial differences and personal idiosyncrasies among soldiers. I can't remember ever having heard any bitter or insulting remark cast at Negroes, and it was with real surprise that I read of fighting between white and Negro soldiers at Camp Dix.

I have easily adapted myself to this life; I like men and people and find little to complain. But there is one thing I wish to mention. That is the lack of really adequate facilities for testing men to the limit for unusual powers. I have every confidence in the world that I could function as a major general or even lieutenant general, but what processes exist for testing or proving this one way or the other. I sought a second lieutenancy avidly and constantly from October, 1940, to June, 1941, and have done so indifferently since, but I have been stalled all this time by red tape. Now I have concluded it isn't worth the struggle.

PHILIP STUART

Moscow, Vt., May 19

Let Taxation Be Just!

Dear Sirs: Advocates of the general sales tax too frequently fail to appreciate the unjust distribution of its burdens. Consumption never has been accepted as a fair measure of ability to contribute to the support of government. One's sense of justice denies any claim that the father of a large family of dependent children is better able to pay taxes than the bachelor with an equal income and no dependents at all.

Some who admit the sales tax to be regressive favor its use as an equalizer of the general tax burden. They hold that a sales tax is equivalent to an income tax of an equal per cent for those persons who have to spend all their income for the necessaries of life, but amounts to only a fraction of this per cent for those who do not spend all their income. Such an argument ignores an important difference between the two types of tax. An income tax always exempts a subsistence minimum and makes an additional exemption for each dependent child, while a general sales tax allows no exemption.

It is agreed that in determining the tax burden we must look at the tax system as a whole. We must include all kinds of tax levies, direct and indirect, those imposed by towns, villages, cities, counties, and states as well as by the federal government. In the commonwealths and their subdivisions the property tax is most universal. Special studies have revealed that more than 90 per cent of intangible property escapes taxation altogether, and that the assessed value of tangible property declines from the true market value as the holdings increase. The poor man owns little or no intangible property, and his small holding of tangible property is assessed at nearly 100 per cent of its full market value. Since the proportional rate is applied in determining the tax on property, the burden is regressive, falling relatively heavily on the poor.

It is sometimes argued in support of the sales tax that it yields promptly and continuously very substantial revenues to the state; and also that such a tax causes everyone to be interested in the affairs of government. But if the principle of justice is to be ignored, the confiscations and excessive fines employed by medieval kings would be even more productive of immediate revenues. Unjust methods, knowingly employed for raising revenue, are unbecoming a democracy. And, it must be remembered that it is important to induce citizens to think approvingly of the activities of government rather than disapprovingly. Since our colonial forefathers fought a successful war in opposition to unjust taxation, let us be mindful of the justice for which they sacrificed so much.

DELOS O. KINSMAN

Washington, D. C., May 20

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Correction from Mr. Herskovits

Dear Sirs: A much-belated copy of Franklin Frazier's review of my book, "The Myth of the Negro Past," has just reached me here in Bahia. There is one statement in it that, in all justice to the men named, I should like to see corrected.

Mr. Frazier says, "The conclusions of such scholars as Robert E. Park, Edward B. Reuter, and Guy Johnson may be wrong, but they are not the result of race prejudice. . . ." The imputation here is not justified, for nowhere in my book, either explicitly or implicitly, have I made charges of race prejudice against any of these gentlemen—as I have not made them against Mr. Frazier himself, whose work, as he modestly refrains from stating in this review, is cited again and again as making an outstanding contribution to the perpetuation of the "myth" that the Negro has no pre-American past worthy of note. On the contrary, I am at some pains to point out how, with the idea of African cultural inferiority accepted, it was just such men of good-will as these who felt that the less said about this aspect of the Negro's past the better.

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS

São Salvador, Bahia, Brazil, April 29

Anti-Nazis in Australia

Dear Sirs: A friend of mine, once a well-known educator in Germany, went to England in 1939. Being unable to get an immigration certificate for Palestine, he lived in the Kitchener Camp in Richborough. Although he was considered a "refugee from Nazi oppression" by a government tribunal after the outbreak of the war, he was interned in 1940 without any charges and sent to a camp in Australia. He is known to be an anti-Nazi, and, indeed, his wife and child were deported by the Nazis to a Polish ghetto; yet he has been confined ever since.

In a letter I have just received from him he writes: "The unbelievable is true: thousands of people are kept behind barbed wire in this Empire of Humanity, year after year, only because nobody wants to have them. There is no other reason, for nobody seriously believes that we are enemies. Thinking of the world outside that claims to fight for right and freedom, we are in constant danger of becoming enemies of human society."

Many people have criticized the French for interning anti-Nazi refugees when the Nazis invaded France. I am afraid that a similar thing is being done in Australia right now. The people in internment camps would do anything to help the small population of large Australia in their war effort. This country, which is now helping Australia so much, ought to be able to do something about Australia's unfriendly treatment of the Allies' friends.

KURT BERGEL

Deep Springs, Cal., April 18

Karl Heinzen

Dear Sirs: I am collecting material for a biography of Karl Heinzen, German revolutionist and radical American editor and publicist, whose American activities centered in Louisville, New York, and Boston. I would be grateful if anyone having unpublished Heinzen material would communicate with me at Oberlin College.

CARL WITTKE

Oberlin, Ohio, May 15

Our Returning Consuls

Dear Sirs: You recently published a most accurate and informative article regarding the activities of some of our "mis-representatives" in Europe (Our Consuls at Work, by Varian Fry, in the issue of May 2).

Many of these fascist-minded and anti-Semitic gentry are now returning to our shores in exchange for the German, Italian, and Japanese diplomats who left this country a few weeks ago. It is too bad that we have no "democratic compression chambers" on the order of the devices used when tunnel workers return to the air after their day's work, for these people are so indoctrinated with fascism that they will surely spread a lot of it over here. What about a little publicity about this matter? It is really a shame that some of them could not be brought to book on charges for their behavior abroad.

EDGAR SALINGUE

May 21

Thanks and the Contrary

Dear Sirs: Thank you for Pierre Cot's remarks on "Europe's future," in his review of Albert Guérard's "The France of Tomorrow." No thank you for Hal Lehrman's suggestion that the De Gaulle forces should have been permitted to repeat at Madagascar the blunder of Dakar!

I view with discomfort the tendency to give all-out support to French royalists. Military support at places where they are already in possession is enough.

EMERSON STRINGHAM

Madison, Wis., May 20

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